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NIXON'S N.E.P.

WATERSHED OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

David Deitch

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STUDENT FRANCHISE

Home Is Where the Vote Is

Richard G. Singer

'Democracy' by Carl Cohen / Ronald Sampson

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LETTERS

meeting with Allende

New York City

DEAR SIRS: When I was in Santiago, Chile, during July, I inspected some of the recently nationalized industrial plants, talked with various officials in the new Socialist government and had a half-hour interview with President Salvador Allende. . . .

While the Chilean Government faces many difficulties in establishing a planned Socialist society, the President, whose term lasts six years, convinced me that during that time he and his Popular Unity coalition would go far in engineering the transition to socialism. He pointed out that an extensive nationalization program is already well advanced. And the President was emphatic that the transition would be carried through in a democratic way.

President Allende told me that the Chilean Government would do everything possible to maintain good relations with the United States, but that difficulties might arise over the amount Chile would pay U.S. companies for the recent nationalization of the copper mines. A constitutional amendment authorizing the take-over was passed unanimously by the Chilean Congress and signed by the President on July 15.

I was greatly impressed by President Allende. He is a statesman of firm principle, rare intelligence and compassionate feeling for his fellow men. Certainly an excellent chance exists that his administration, and the political parties supporting it, can lay the foundations of democratic socialism in Chile—socialism without dictatorship—and thus create a portentous example for the rest of South America and for the world. *Corliss Lamont*

Nixon's girl

Augusta, Me.

DEAR SIRS: When President Nixon arrived in Maine on August 6 . . . Secret Service men and State Police joined to force people to take down anti-Nixon and anti-war signs, with the admonition that the Bangor International Airport, owned entirely by the city of Bangor, was "private property." Disgruntled observers reported that those waving pro-Nixon placards were not exposed to this sophistry.

But the President didn't have to rely completely on official protection from visual pollution. Paulette Morin, a militant 22-year-old from a nearby town, ripped down a sign inviting the crowd of 5,000 to "Send Nixon Home."

Nixon read about the incident in a local paper. Elated by such ardor in Senator Muskie's home state, he asked the girl to see him off at the airport when he departed for Washington on Sunday, the 8th. At planeside he overreacted with his usual disregard for law and order when it concerns one of his not-so-silent majority by inviting Miss Morin to visit him at the White House and promising to help her find a job in Washington. *Evelyn Scribner*

chance for Senator Harris

Farmington, Conn.

DEAR SIRS: The Presidential economic freeze . . . may present at least one of the Democratic Presidential aspirants with a golden opportunity to put forward some bona fide issues for the consideration of a skeptical American public.

Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma, with his Populist philosophy, should come down hard on proposals that neglect such factors as excess corporate profits and high interest rates while concentrating on halting wage increases and prices. . . .

There is a growing awareness in this nation of economic class inequities that may combine with and energize the racial inequalities issue. . . . Senator Harris is ably equipped to present to the electorate a "Populist" program . . . designed to remove obstructions to the successful harnessing of 20th-century technology to the urgent needs of man and his natural environment. . . . *Thomas J. Kelley*

EDITORIALS

Mr. Meany's Big Cigar

There he is on the cover of both *Time* and *Newsweek*, different colored shirt, different colored tie, but the same truculent pose and the same big cigar. To grab both covers in the same week is ordinarily considered a feat. But George Meany was there not so much because of his harsh words about the President's N.E.P. (see article p. 198), as because he was the kind of adversary the President needed to make his program more palatable to nonlabor and labor elements of the middle class. Whether he was deliberately baited, as by initiating such a move without consulting him, or whether the Administration simply took for granted the possibility that he would overreact, really doesn't matter. What matters is that in that pose, puffing that big cigar, he presents Mr. Nixon with the ideal image of oxlike opposition.

It apparently never occurred to Mr. Meany that he might be so used. Only a year ago, on Labor Day 1970, the President toasted him as "a distinguished labor statesman, a man who stands for the best in free labor and for the best of America." And Meany, surrounded by a battalion of hand-picked labor leaders, responded with glowing words that the President was a leader "dedicated to the same ideal and the same end" as the American labor movement. What rapport! As hawks on Vietnam, their two hearts beat as one. But then, even before the wage freeze, the President had ignored Meany and his chief foreign policy adviser, Jay Lovestone, when announcing his intention to fly to Peking. To Meany and Lovestone, that announcement was an affront probably even more intolerable than the wage freeze. So no doubt Meany was ready to explode when the second blow fell. Nor was his choleric disposition softened any by Labor Secretary Hodgson's remark—which sounds like a calculated affront—that "Meany appears to be sadly out of step with the needs of American workingmen and women." If further provocation was needed to produce an explosion, that did it.

But the reaction to Meany's overreaction indicates that Mr. Hodgson had a point. For it was quickly pointed out that Meany had been an advocate of wage-and-price controls for some time. Moreover, the polls indicated that by no means all labor responded as he did to the news of the wage freeze. Then, after consultations with a number of labor lawyers, Meany began to beat a tactical retreat. Now the stage has been set for some such face-saving formula as selective controls with labor representation on the review boards, which will make it possible for George to get back in line. Viewed from any angle, Meany is not playing the role of elder statesman convincingly these days. The "overreactions" continue. Who needs John Lindsay? he growled in response to a recent question. Meany may not need Lindsay, but the Democratic Party needs all the switch-overs from liberal Republican ranks it can obtain. A certain amount of aplomb is expected of a leader who is supposed to speak in the name of 13.5 million union members. But aplomb is not George Meany's most conspicuous quality.

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Peace as a Process

Amid the threats and fulminations that mark the intercourse of nations, and that all too often are followed by drastic action, an occasional calm, considered statement makes itself heard. The thinking that gave rise to it may even influence the course of history. The speech that West Berlin's Mayor Klaus Schutz delivered on August 15 at the University of Michigan—he was repaying his hosts for an honorary degree—was of this exceptional type. He saw signs of approaching peace in Europe, perhaps even the opportunity for lasting peace.

He was very cautious—"a start toward a lasting peace" is the phrase he used. Of course this was said in anticipation of the draft agreement which was reached a few days later by the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain regarding the future of Berlin, and therefore of the two Germanys and much else. But the tone of Herr Schutz's speech was as important as the content. Such settlements, he pointed out, "do not represent all-embracing general peace; they are settlements for more peace. They are, in other words, merely improvements, they are not solutions." They are "steps in the direction of peace," neither to be hailed as the end of the cold war nor to be minimized as trifling advances. Peace, in this view, is a *process,* analogous to other processes in nature, such as the slow healing of a wound.

The Berlin wall—always referred to by Western journalists as "the infamous wall"—will not come down; for the present, it can only be made less obnoxious. Nor was the infamy all on one side. Considering the rate at which the Allies were siphoning the most talented and needed people out of East Germany, did they think that Khrushchev would let the flood continue indefinitely without making an effort to contain it? Something, surely, can be gained from a moment's retrospection.

Nevertheless after twenty-six years, and after seventeen months of negotiation, the framework has been established for an easing of tensions over the chief cancerous area of Europe. The four powers have agreed that, even though a German solution may have to wait a long time, no one is going to seek a solution on the battlefield.

The gain for the West would have been worth while if it had comprised nothing other than Soviet acceptance of responsibility for relatively unimpeded access to West Berlin. Impeded access has been a Soviet weapon, always available for use by way of retaliation or warning.

What the East gains is, first, the laying of the groundwork for a European security conference at the summit—the prerequisite for which was an agreement about Berlin. It also makes possible a *démarche* which can be advantageous to both sides. It brings within the realm of diplomacy Brandt's policy for "an opening to the East." Until there was a pro tem agreement about Berlin, Brandt was blocked by domestic political considerations.

The Soviets obviously want a European security conference. They are eager to cut military expenditures, perhaps with China in mind. Washington has been less eager: even now hoary nonsense issues from President Nixon's staff to the effect that we must maintain "strong" American forces in Europe, that the present installation is a minimum. These officials, who will say nothing for attribu-

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tion, concede that the Berlin draft agreement could lead to a European security conference, but they see "a very vital need" to maintain U.S. troop levels in Europe at 310,000, so that we can—they keep repeating the phrase, like a crossover on a phonograph record—negotiate from "a position of strength." They have learned nothing from the popular response to Senator Mansfield's proposal for a 50,000-a-year reduction, nor from the international monetary situation which has all the central banks in the world—and not least the economic policy makers in the United States—sick with misgivings.

Mayor Schutz's address at the University of Michigan was not an off-the-cuff disquisition. He is a close adviser to Chancellor Brandt. The light he saw on the horizon is the first glimmer of dawn, not very bright and perhaps to be obscured by overcasts higher in the sky, but it is not an *ignis fatuus* either.

Another Guatemala?

In its 150 years of independence, Bolivia has averaged an overturn in government about every eight months. Some of these have been *opéra bouffe* affairs, but many have been marked by copious bloodshed: the current one left 110 dead and 600 wounded. But will it result in anything resembling stable government, as some American observers ardently hope? Or, as one experienced Central American diplomat suggested, will it follow the pattern of Guatemala, where thousands have been killed in guerrilla warfare between Communist and right-wing assassination squads, with no end in sight?

The hero of the present coup is Col. Hugo Banzer Suaréz, a career army officer who comes from a family of landowners and, like many Latin American military men, was trained at U.S. Army schools in Panama and the United States. As an additional bond in U.S.-Bolivian solidarity, he served as his country's military attaché in Washington. While the United States may not have played a serious role in Banzer's return to power—he has held government posts before—his ascension to the Presidency naturally pleases Latin American watchers at the State Department and the Pentagon.

To some extent Banzer counterbalances the Socialist Salvador Allende, President of Chile and something of a novelty in Latin America in that he came to power in a fair, legal election. Banzer is also much more welcome in Washington than was his predecessor, Juan José Torres, likewise an army officer who made it to the top in October 1970, in a crisis that split the Bolivian army. Torres is now in exile in Peru; until his successful coup, Banzer was in exile in Argentina, although reports indicate that he crossed the border into Bolivia from time to time.

Torres was a kind of military leftist, although his supporters and those who tolerated him, covered a wide and incongruous political spectrum. He expelled the U.S. Peace Corps and seized some American-owned mining properties without immediate compensation. He sought technical and financial aid from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. However, he was far from a wild man in this respect. He honored an agreement to pay $80 million for Gulf Oil's Bolivian assets; Banzer has announced that this nationalization will not be rescinded. At the same time he reaffirmed Bolivia's "traditionally friendly" relations with the United States—but did not renounce the relations Torres had established with the Soviets.

It does not seem that the CIA, or other American instruments of persuasion, played any such role in the Banzer coup as in earlier interventions in other parts of the world. *The Washington Post* (August 29) reports that a U.S. Air Force officer, Maj. Robert J. Lundin, has been in close touch with Banzer's conspiracy for the past six months, and when communications between the revolutionists' headquarters in Santa Cruz and La Paz, the capital, broke down, Lundin came to the rescue with his radio circuits. A more serious intervention was that of an 800-man ranger unit, trained by the U.S. Green Berets, which threw its strength to Banzer. But there are no longer American advisers with this elite unit and it would seem that leftist assertions that it was all a U.S. plot are without foundation.

Equally without foundation, however, is the idea that Banzer will restore stable government in Bolivia and make the country safe for American investment. Banzer's anti-communism is about all that holds his regime together. His support comes from sections of the business community and most of the army. Torres has the intellectuals, students, avowed leftists, the newly educated middle class, and some miscellaneous groups. Most significantly, the Indians who populate the highlands, and the politically violent miners, stood aside from the conflict. In 1952 they defeated the army in pitched battles, seized large rural estates and occupied the mines. They may become a problem for Banzer, and, even if they remain aloof, he will have trouble keeping his disparate supporters together. For the Bolivians, and for the wishful thinkers in Washington, the prospect is for continuing instability and violence.

The American Tragedy

The American tragedy of the moment—the month is September and a new school term is opening—is the apparent failure of the people and their political leaders to accept the challenge of racial discrimination in the schools and follow through on the promising beginnings that have been made. That failure is "apparent" because one does not know what the response of the people might have been if at any time between 1954 (*Brown* v. *Board of Education*) and the present, strong national leadership at the Presidential level had been forthcoming. Neither Eisenhower, Kennedy, nor Johnson had the insight or courage to take the morality of the issue directly to the people by making an appeal to their better natures. Now Nixon has compounded the failure by trying to sabotage, if not reverse, the process of desegregation. And the tragedy is that substantial, if utterly inadequate, progress has been made. Desegregation *is* proceeding in the South; the private all-white "academies" continue to prosper in some communities, particularly the cities, but fewer pupils are fleeing to them. School busses are blown up in Pontiac, Mich., but there has been little violence this year in the South. In Raleigh, the principal of a formerly all-black school which will now have white sixth-graders,

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is quoted as saying: "This is the greatest thing that's ever happened. These kids solve all the problems." Not all by any means, but even so, children, and particularly sixth-graders, have more sense about such matters than do most of their elders.

The spirit—the attitude—that should be encouraged shines through the news stories about what happened in Redwood City, Calif., where a high school will open in East Palo Alto with a 45 per cent black enrollment compared to a 94 per cent black enrollment last year—*and it is all being done voluntarily*. About 1,200 black and white students decided on their own to switch schools. Previously the voters—that is, the morally insensitive adults—had voted against a mandatory desegregation plan. To encourage volunteers, the district administrator promised to make it a model school, where new forms of student government and instruction would be tried. Not only did black and white students volunteer but some of the top teachers in other schools requested transfer so that they might help carry out the innovations. The student volunteers constitute only 10 per cent of the district's 12,000 pupils, but when was social progress ever initiated by a majority? One white parent is quoted as saying (*Los Angeles Times*, August 24): "I'm not expecting it to be smooth sailing, but I think it will be a good experience for Mike." Mike, echoing the wisdom of youth, had a more affirmative response: "It will give us a chance to get out of our little spheres and see different parts of the world in action."

In brief, the total situation is anything but hopeless. What is discouraging is the failure of political leadership, particularly top leadership, to call forth the kind of response that took place in Redwood City. Here and there a prominent political leader does sense what needs to be said and has the courage to say it. In a remarkable address at Gainesville, Florida's Gov. Reubin Askew spoke on the American tragedy of September 1971, in a speech that the diligent Jerry Greene of the New York *Daily News* rescued from oblivion. In a direct challenge to Governor Wallace, Askew voiced the simple conclusion that more and more white Southerners are coming to accept: "racial discrimination and democracy are incompatible." "How sad it will be," he added, "if the emotions of the hour become the legacy of a generation." If you don't like bussing, he told his constituents, then desegregate the schools, make bussing unnecessary. Bussing is at best an artificial and inadequate remedy "yet the law demands, and rightly so, that we put an end to segregation. . . . We must stop inviting, by our intransigence, devices that are repugnant to us."

Nothing can be expected of the present Administration in the way of courageous moral leadership on the issue of desegregation. But perhaps the example of Governor Askew may encourage other Governors to offset the wretched default of Presidential leadership. To speak in apocalyptic terms, the racial revolution is accelerating in this country. Either it will be pursued to a triumphant conclusion in this generation, in which case the country is saved, or it will be suppressed, in which case we are in deepest trouble. And that is why, as Governor Askew noted, this is perhaps the most crucial September in the long and remarkable history of our public schools.

Nader

Within the space of seven years—since he moved to Washington from Winsted, Conn.—Ralph Nader has become a major force in the nation's public life. As might be expected, given such a meteoric rise, he is being mentioned not for intermediate political office but for the highest, the Presidency. His unofficial nominators are mostly journalists (Mike Royko, Harriet Van Horne) and writers (Gore Vidal), who will not command many delegates at either major party convention. With characteristic good sense, Nader has promptly brushed such suggestions aside. "I am not interested in *any* form of political office, appointive or elective." But although he may be quite without political ambition, the forces that he has aroused are essentially political in character. Consider the range of his concerns: they now embrace all the regulatory agencies and other agencies and departments as well. To say that he has brought into being a nationwide consumer movement is to understate and misjudge his achievement. His central concern is with corporate and institutional power and its misuse. He wants to reclaim some of this power for the people and he wants to make a wide range of institutions, private and public, perform the functions with which they were originally endowed. He is concerned with the democratization of the corporation. This is basically a political undertaking. He has already brought into being reports and "position papers" on a wide spectrum of public issues, from the California Water Project to banking practices in New York City, which in their totality constitute a political program of a kind that has never issued from a convention of either the Republican or the Democratic Party.

At the same time he has evolved a philosophy of action by which such a program might be carried into effect. "If this form of government of ours is to be more responsive," he has said, "it's got to be preceded by a new form of citizen and community action." Citizenship must be an obligation in three different areas. First on the job, as when the Fisher Body inspector blew the whistle. This is what he calls "the ethical whistle," because it involves the ethical issue of when one should place one's obligation to society above allegiance to an organization (see "White-Collar Conscience: The Corporate Underground" by Timothy H. Ingram, p. 206). Then there are the obligations of the part-time citizen, who is severely handicapped today for lack of techniques and know-how. "Citizenship action," he says, "in this country is about as developed now as physics was in Archimedes' day, because we haven't put full-time talent on it." And third, there is the full-time citizen. He would like to see, for example, 5,000 public interest lawyers in Washington in the next five years; he would like to see 40,000 throughout the country. His clearly stated philosophy of public action has given young people a feeling of what it is that they can do, of how they should proceed. He has demonstrated how the law can be used as an instrument of social change, and how corporate directors can be put on the spot. In essence he has given the entire nation a new and vivid sense of what is needed if the people are to win back some of the power that has been taken from them by default, by bureaucratic encroach-

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ment, by special-interest legislation, and other stratagems and practices.

No one has more influence with young activists than Nader. He does not attempt to peddle an ideology; he talks facts. He is not out to dismantle the institutions of the society but to make them work. He urges young people to find out how the system currently works—more accurately, why it fails to work as it should. It is charged against him that he impugns motives. But to him motives are irrelevant; what matters is who gets what, how, by what means.

In a sense Nader is a latter-day representative of the native American radical tradition which has always been pragmatic and geared to immediate action. What he does is evoke the enthusiasm that once sustained the Populist movement, which is not to say that he is a modern Populist. He is more sophisticated, with a better sense of tactics and techniques, and with a stronger emphasis on the problems of an urban society. He does not agitate, he operates; he does not orate, he digs in. He is concerned with verifiable realities and relationships, not with rhetorical outbursts. He is, indeed, as he has been called, a tough customer. He may never be a candidate for the Presidency, but he has set in motion the first relevant radical movement that we have seen since the turn of the century. It would be to misjudge the potentialities of this movement, as well as to misread him, to think of it as "revolutionary." Nader is interested in radical reform, in a widespread renovation of institutions. Despite his intentions, he way well get caught up some day in the currents he has set in motion. He could be an exciting and unconventional candidate—"the man the people trust" or, with a broad touch of exaggeration, "the only man the people trust."

NIXON'S N.E.P.

Watershed of the American Economy

DAVID DEITCH
Mr. Deitch writes on economic and financial affairs for the Boston Globe.

A good deal of public fascination is being expressed about the notion that a Republican Administration was the one to institute wage-price controls and other forms of governmental interference in the private economy during "peacetime"—as if somehow the Republicans had some special formula for dealing with the developing economic crisis. There is no formula; the crisis is inherent in the political economy; the only "solution"—a technical one to the massive political problem represented by the conflicting requirements of large capital and of working people—is greater rationalization of the economy over the long term and the expropriation of working-class incomes in order to achieve the necessary stabilization in the short term.

It seems probable that a Democratic administration would have resolved sooner to move toward the more managed capitalism that one finds in the Western European states, and the fact that Richard Nixon assumed this historic task rather than, say, Hubert Humphrey is of small consequence. In both cases, the working class of America, and indeed the rest of the "free world," will have its pockets picked in a more delicate fashion, now that the bludgeoning tactics of high unemployment are seen to have failed as a stabilization technique for the first time in a generation. America is now in a new stage, but it is a stage that other capitalist nations have arrived at earlier. In this sense, the Nixon economic controls can't "work," but must be seen as part of an adjustment process long under way in Europe—the development of a new "managed" capitalism, a higher order of rationalization designed to eliminate the disruptions of the inflationary struggle, the co-optation as it were, of the Socialist alternative.

The Nixon Administration, having delayed the inevitable as long as possible, has reluctantly signed the death warrant in this country of the so-called "free market" in favor of greater management and control. The purpose of the three-month wage-price "freeze" is to permit time for the organization of a permanent mechanism to determine who shall get what share of the national income—an "incomes policy" linked in some way to growth in productivity. What this means is that a process has been set in motion whereby the American working class will be made to see that its own prosperity is an indissoluble function of private profit; indeed, that it can expect little unless and until private capital has its due. In order to facilitate this process, of course, the trade unions must be incorporated into the incomes policy strategy and a "consensus" established that will carry forward the new philosophy of containment of radical change by officially administered prices and wages through agreed upon norms; in short, a planned growth and strategy for economic mobilization within the competitive world capitalist system, as if peacetime economic warfare were synonymous with military conflict, and "patriotism" an integral part of the campaign to restore the pre-eminent position that America acquired largely as a result of World War II.

But how did all this come about, and why do we have an economic "crisis"—the word is used advisedly—that must be dealt with by extraordinary means? Why is it that a watershed has been reached in the American political economy requiring the most sweeping series of economic initiatives since the Great Depression?

To answer this question one must re-examine the economic behavior of the 1960s, the war in Vietnam, indeed the peculiar behavior of the entire postwar period of which the sixties were merely the distillation of the most important attributes of our capitalistic system.

The existing inflation is especially dangerous because it

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is associated with the reduction in liquidity of the economy during the post-World War II period, a reduction which, however persistent, did not become critical until around 1965 when the war in Asia accelerated the deterioration in liquidity and the entire inflationary process. [See "Depression Warning: Out on the Credit Limb" by Michael Tanzer, *The Nation*, June 2, 1969.] Superficially stated, liquidity is the ability to pay off debt, and its converse is the tendency toward bankruptcy. The loss of liquidity can be measured in various ways, not least of which is the fact that increased inputs of debt are required to boost gross national product, while an ever greater portion of corporate profits must be devoted to debt repayment. Both Keynesians and monetarists have been dead wrong in debating whether the economy is "depression proof" and whether "built-in stabilizers" are able to correct the course of the economy. The relatively few financial experts who paid attention to balance sheets—pointing out that increasing profits may be futile if the accumulation of debt has been rising faster—correctly predicted that the society was heading in the direction of depression, that it has been acquiring an enormously high fixed cost structure through the accumulation of debt, and that debt itself is the most important inflationary stimulus in the economy.

When liquidity becomes critically low—when the means are not sufficiently available to pay off the accumulation of debt—accelerating increases in the money supply are needed to fuel economic expansions because natural liquidity is unavailable. Forcing business to expand through government spending or through additional monetary inflation generated by the Federal Reserve Board only aggravates the deterioration in liquidity. The ratio of interest payments to corporate profits plus interest payments—i.e., the proportion of income available to all security holders that is consumed by interest payments—is one measure of the debt burden plaguing corporations. This ratio, according to the Bank Credit Analyst of Montreal, was 48 per cent in 1970, compared with 37 per cent in 1960 and 31 per cent in 1929. Meanwhile, the increase in public and private debt in 1970 was $117 billion, against a GNP increase of only $45.1 billion. In other words, it took $2.60 to boost a dollar's worth of GNP. In the previous five years, an average $1.92 of debt raised the GNP by $1. In almost every year, a heavier dose of debt is required to generate the American GNP. Interest payments of approximately $125 billion a year—rising inexorably—constitute an eighth of GNP, and must be paid off or disavowed—threatening an important break in the chain of payments, and thus depression. Several sensational bankruptcies in the last few years have indicated that a prolonged economic recession, with a consequent decline in corporate profits, could produce the circumstances that lead to profound economic dislocation.

It is not *just* the ability of giant corporations and big labor to administer prices and wages that has made the present inflation intractable. Monopoly is the means by which inflation is executed, not its *raison d'être*. Ten years ago, fifteen years ago, the corporations and the unions were equally adept at maintaining the conditions which have stabilized the distribution of income since World War II. Something new has been added to the equation: a tremendously high and rising fixed cost structure that is being built into the U.S. economy—i.e., debt—is causing all its elements to run ever faster in order to stay ahead of the inflationary process. For the first time in a generation, high unemployment and recessionary conditions have failed to stabilize the economy and point it toward a new expansion without important inflation.

Vadillo—Siempre, México

What seems to be clear is that the American economy is not generating enough wealth to satisfy the requirements of the inflationary society. With the inflation having been extended for a prolonged period, almost everybody's real income has declined, and the ruling class is forced to seek extraordinary measures to expropriate income where it is not available through normal business expansion. Inasmuch as the corporations, collectively speaking, are unable to undertake a normal expansion because profits and borrowing must be devoted to restoring liquidity, they are more dependent on inflationary prices than on increased sales to sustain income levels. To help the corporations out of their difficulties, Washington understandably does not go out of its way now to promote a business expansion but rather offers increased depreciation allowances, a big capital investment tax credit, an import surcharge, a tax cut: in other words, measures designed to expropriate public funds for private investment purposes.

Japan has a similar debt problem, but learned earlier how to "solve" it by picking the pockets of its working class. More and more American management consultants are now saying, with Herman Kahn, that Japan's

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brand of managed capitalism is something to emulate. Indeed, no other capitalist country has found how to implement its method of expropriating public funds for private investment purposes. Japan's intense preoccupation with ever rising private investment has resulted in enormous productivity gains (an incredible 14.2 per cent average annual increase between 1965-70, compared with a thin 2.21 per cent for the United States, now the lowest of all the industrialized countries), but also in tremendous pent-up demands for social investment and more equitable income distribution.

The Japanese Government's economic policies have been specifically designed to concentrate capital in areas where world demand is highest—i.e., heavy machinery, chemicals and precision products. Corporate mergers are encouraged to meet and overwhelm international competition. The Bank of Japan works overtime toward this end by stabilizing an industrial system that makes extremely high use of corporate debt to finance growth. Since Japanese companies finance expansion by borrowing in the neighborhood of 80 per cent of total capital requirements, fixed costs are extremely high. Because the break-even point is so high, Japanese companies must operate facilities at near capacity and the output is moved onto world markets at competitively low prices. The extremely high use of debt has raised productivity, permitted smaller profit margins by expanding volume, and caused Japan to become the world's greatest industrial competitor.

The United States has failed to match Japan's utilization of debt financing, despite the encouragement of American management consultants, who foresaw that this was the road toward stepped-up return on equity investment and, more important, the retention of U.S. economic hegemony in world competition. Nevertheless, the United States has managed to acquire a bigger debt repayment problem simply because it lacks the kind of economic "rationalization" that Japanese capitalists benefit from. What this means is that the United States is moving toward a more managed capitalism precisely because it must find new ways to expropriate public funds for private investment purposes in an intensely competitive world.

I want to develop the idea that the intention of our economic policy in 1970-71 has been to delay a legitimate business expansion while finding other means for the corporations to acquire capital. As most economists by now realize, Mr. Nixon's new economic program is short on fiscal stimulation, since government spending and employee cuts balance out tax reductions. Recent events nevertheless indicate that the United States continues to seek inflationary solutions to inflationary problems.

The purpose of the President's economic policy is to maintain the price level despite enormous corporate overcapacity. It seeks to avoid price cutting as the means to stimulate consumption. In fact, the economic managers do not want a boom in consumption just yet, for the liquidity reasons outlined above. What they do want is to create the conditions for a restoration of liquidity that will prepare the corporations to undertake a legitimate expansion and a prolonged upswing of profits. The present period is one of preparation and transition.

While it is traditional for the corporations to want to maintain their prices despite sluggish sales, there is an added incentive this time in the form of billions of dollars of "excess" savings accumulated in the banks. The idea is to get consumers to spend this money—estimated at upward of $15 billion—on the existing price level. The economic managers are worried that a crisis of confidence is causing the American people to save rather than to spend their money. Consumers are being given the message that with expiration of the wage-price freeze prices are likely to go up, so it makes sense for them to buy now. Naturally, they are never advised to demand lower prices, given the fact that goods are in general oversupply.

Although newspaper reports trumpet that the dollar is "weak" in foreign exchange markets, the fact is that foreign currencies are going up while the dollar, in absolute terms, stays constant. This means that foreign merchandise is becoming more expensive, both relatively in terms of U.S. merchandise, and absolutely in terms of the amount of dollars they will cost. The dollar is "weak," yet prices go higher. The 10 per cent import surcharge is similarly designed to raise the price of foreign merchandise relative to American goods. The obvious intention is to avoid giving American consumers the option of buying cheaper merchandise.

What the Administration has chosen not to do is try to step up consumption by raising total government spending. It does not wish to set off a new inflationary spiral, just to maintain the old inflationary price level. However, it does hope to boost consumption by causing people to spend what they already have in the banks—their savings, which have reached the highest total rate since World War II. The concept is simple indeed: while the corporations believe they have already paid out higher wages than they can well afford, they haven't yet received the full benefits of the inflated price level. In order to get those benefits in terms of profits, the corporations must induce consumers to spend what they have saved from their "catch up" wages.

In this sense, working-class savings are being ex-

Indian Express (New Delhi)

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propriated by an economic policy which maintains a price level that is ultra high relative to excess capacity, in order to facilitate corporate profits. In this way, the economic technocrats hope to work off some of that tremendous expansion of the money supply that never did result in bigger industrial output of consequence. Moreover, what the corporations can rake in as profits they don't have to borrow. Savings can either be plundered via profits or borrowed, and the Washington managers don't want to set off a new corporate borrowing spree. They know that the mushrooming ball of paper credit threatens to blow wide open, and so the conditions must be created that can repay debts, not increase them more than necessary. Once the accumulated savings are skimmed off, one might expect legitimate efforts at economic stimulation through stepped-up government spending. But first, it is necessary to expropriate these savings through bigger profits, in order that the corporations can prepare themselves in terms of liquidity for the next big economic expansion. The fact that important liquidity problems still exist (94 per cent of the long-term bond financing in the first half of 1971 was monopolized by the top 500 corporations) is the biggest reason why an important industrial expansion has been delayed. An economic policy designed to expand business at a time when the corporations didn't feel ready to accept a business boom would only have aggravated the liquidity situation.

The wage-price freeze, centerpiece of the stabilization package, will bring down interest rates as the inflationary component is removed from the price of credit. This is the only price that will come down; indeed, interest rates *must* come down if a new economic expansion is to take place. As borrowing costs drop (they haven't until now, despite the sluggish economy), so will the interest rate paid on savings accounts, and that is an added incentive for people to take savings out of the banks and spend it. Monetary policy is saying that too much money has been created, and that too much of it has gone into savings accounts. It is amusing that some critics of the Nixon stabilization plan complain that no freeze has been slapped on profits, when the purpose of the plan is precisely to facilitate a sustained upswing in corporate profits.

But for all of this to happen, the United States must become a garrison state of the world economic community. The inflationary price level at home must be protected by raising barriers to foreign competition. And other public funds must be expropriated for the sake of investment in productivity gains that will lead American corporations to victory in the world marketplace. Patriotism has already been invoked in this regard and the cooperation of labor is essential.

The initial outburst by top American labor leaders against the new economic plan of the Administration will only serve to make their ultimate capitulation that much more ludicrous. What is at stake here is not basic philosophy but the price to be paid and to whom. Big labor has already backed off from contesting the legality of the wage-price freeze, and will content itself with an attack upon the grossly unfair peripheral spending-revenue aspects, all of which are calculated to grease the transition to a new economic order.

So what we are witnessing now is the politics of the transition from the old order to the new managed capitalism in which the labor movement is fully incorporated into the tripartite arrangement with government and industry. As the old ties are dissolved and new bonds forged, there is bound to be a little friction, but the whole purpose is to increase the total rationalization of the economy, to make it work more "efficiently" while preserving the essential capitalist institutions and, most important of all, maintaining the traditional links between property and power. It is just an accident of history that the transition is taking place under a Republican Administration which tried as hard as it could to maintain the old order. The inflationary struggle enveloping the society required the ruling class to move, no matter which party was in power.

A chief exponent of the new managed capitalism is *The New York Times,* which expressed editorially on August 27 its gratitude that big labor is beginning to see the light on the wage-price freeze, and that it was O.K. if it wanted to negotiate some of the more unfair giveaways of the spending portion of the package. AFL-CIO President George Meany and UAW President Leonard Woodcock evidently found it necessary to make an initial display of militancy in order to consolidate their connections to the Democratic Party, which unquestionably will make the economy the most important issue in the 1972 campaign, and as the precondition to their representing all workers in the future wage-determining machinery. In other words, the new capitalism requires a strong, centralized trade union movement with which to bargain. But with only about a quarter of American workers organized, labor's participation in the national consensus becomes difficult. Right-wing Neanderthal talk of breaking up the unions as a way to defuse the wage-price spiral thus seems contrary to historical trends in which the working class in Western industrial states are organized into units that can be managed and bargained with.

The purpose of the political transition now under way is to get the last corporate and labor holdouts to accept the principle of the incomes policy, with the understanding that negotiation and consensus are at its core. A major effort will be made to convince all that the incomes policy is the formula for steady expansion and jobs, and that working prosperity is inextricably linked to productivity and corporate profits.

The New York Times perceives that labor "bellicosity" has diminished, while at the same time it grants Meany and Woodcock the moral right to protest only the peripheral aspects of the stabilization package; this indicates that the early stage of the incomes policy has begun in behavioral terms. The *Times* appears satisfied that the labor bureaucracy has accepted the critical principle.

The labor bureaucracy must ultimately silence the rank and file if it wants to join in the tripartite planning, in the same sense that the wildcat strike cannot be tolerated. It will have to assure workers that certain guarantees of income distribution can be expected. The corporations, of course, believe that the incomes policy is their own guarantee for a stabilized income distribution. The question needs to be answered, too, whether the working class ought to cooperate in this evolution even on the assumption of an improved incomes distribution. Simply negotiating

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the terms of an incomes policy will emasculate any hope of changing the basic relation between property and power. That is its intention. The Left must quickly come to an understanding of the issues involved and move to deal with an increasingly rapid unfolding of events.

In summary, the primary objective of current economic policy is less to facilitate an immediate expansion than to shift capital toward providing corporations with the investment they need to restore liquidity levels and productivity. The Nixon people have been forced into the belief that in the long run stabilization can be achieved by laying down the conditions for managed growth. For the short run, these conditions—the new economic plan—are the cover under which real incomes are expropriated for the purpose of subsidizing corporate treasuries. The working class continues to pay the price of stabilization. □

STUDENT FRANCHISE

HOME IS WHERE THE VOTE IS

RICHARD G. SINGER
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With the introduction into the House of Representatives of a constitutional amendment designed especially to prevent students from voting in a university town, the current movement in the states to that purpose has reached its culmination. The amendment, sponsored by fifteen members, including Donald Clancy, Samuel Devine and five other Ohio Republicans, follows Republican Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's signing of a bill which would, if upheld in the courts (litigation is already in progress), make it almost impossible for New York State students to vote in the towns where they attend college. And the Rockefeller move merely echoes the recent ruling by Republican Atty. Gen. Evelle Younger, of California—made after the new student voters were registering 3- 4- and 5-to-1 Democratic—that only married students could vote in a university town. (That ruling is also being challenged in the courts.)

Barring students from voting in a university town is no new phenomenon. It began with Maine's constitution in 1819, and has continued today to the point where the statutes of at least twenty-four states specify for student registrants rules different from those applied to almost all other groups of voters. In these statutes, students are typically linked with servicemen, persons in mental and tubercular hospitals and seminarians. They are forbidden, in the words of the statute, from "losing or gaining" residence while attending college. In the middle of the 19th century, the growth of these statutes was sporadic; some states dealt with some of these groups, not with others. The inclusion of one group or another seemed totally fortuitous; there is, at least, no clear legislative history showing that the decision either to exclude or include students in any particular statute was carefully determined.

The reasoning behind the statutes is simple: these groups, it is said, are "transient," their duration at a particular locale only temporary; thus, they are not "residents." To allow nonresidents to vote would be to open the governance of the town, of its "stable" citizenry, to wild and frivolous voters who have nothing to lose by outrageous decisions at the polls. This may well still have some merit when applied to servicemen, or to hospital residents, who have no control over the movement of their lives and who may be ordered to remove themselves from the particular locale. But it could never directly apply to the student, who is always free to remain in the college community after graduation or after he leaves the university for whatever reason.

Banning the student vote in a university town may have been tenable in the 19th century, when many schools were located in areas where it was highly unlikely that most students would remain, and when the probability was high that the student would return to his parental home after graduation. But whatever their validity in the 19th century, those arguments no longer hold water. If the state's purpose in limiting the ballot to "residents" is to ban "transients," the ban against students is clearly misdirected: students are one of the *least* transient groups in our society. For even if it is true that most students leave a college town when they graduate, they will nevertheless be in that town for four years, at a minimum. Census data demonstrate that many groups within the country move from county to county more often than that; recent statistics have shown that 31 per cent of all married men between the ages of 25 and 34 living with their wives move annually; 25.2 per cent of all persons 18 to 19 move that frequently; 44 per cent of all males between 25 and 34, either single or divorced, move each year. Moreover, the *average* mobility rate for all Americans is almost 19 per cent (more than one in five Americans move every year), just slightly below that of students, assuming that four years is an average length of stay. Alvin Toffler, in *Future Shock*, comments that in seventy major United States cities, average residence is less than four years, and that in Washington, D.C., nearly 50 per cent of the telephone listings change from year to year. The rapid pace of the 20th century has made obsolete the rationales of agrarian America in the 1800s.

Students—like the rest of our mobile society—can fall into only two groups: (*1*) those who intend, after a temporary sojourn, to return or move on to a specific place; (*2*) those who for the present expect to remain in the area until some better opportunity comes along, if one ever does. A third group, those who once intended to remain "permanently" in a town, regardless of what

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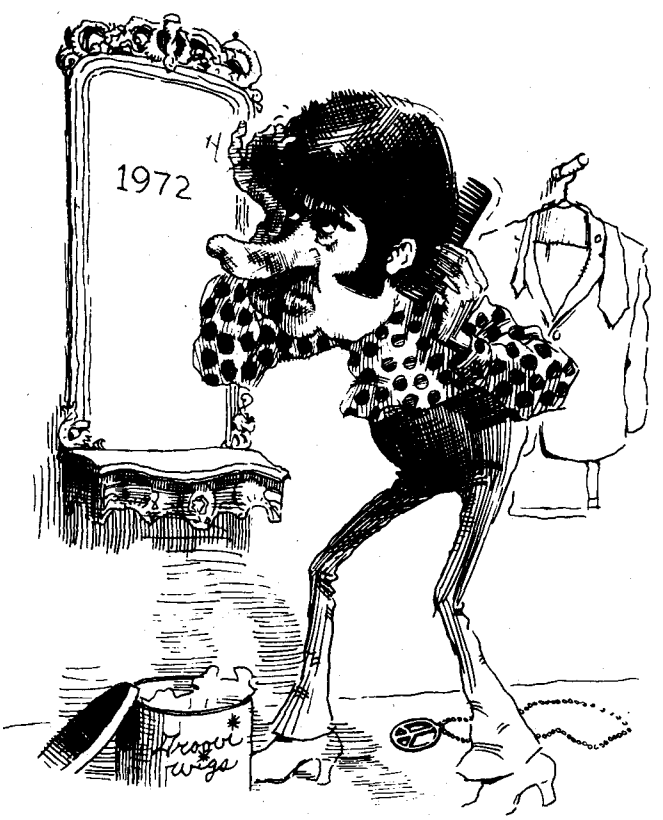
opportunities arose, is now an almost minuscule portion of the society, as the mobility statistics demonstrate. It is the second group—by far the majority of our society, both student and nonstudent, whom the anti-student amendment seeks to disfranchise. But the barriers to students voting in the university town cannot be justified by suggesting that they have no intent to remain, for it is clear that many groups of persons are now registered to vote even though they *know* (in contrast to the student's uncertainty) that they will not remain in the town. Management trainees, for example, are such a group. Yet one looks in vain for indication that such voters are even challenged, much less denied registration. The discrimination against students stands virtually alone.

The primary legal leg on which the opposition to student registration in the university town attempts to stand is the archaic and still ill-defined concept of "domicile," and the even more vague standard of "residency." Domicile is defined traditionally as that place where one *intends* to reside; thus, if a person who has never been in New York steps over the state line with the intent to make it his home, it is from that moment his legal domicile. "Residence," on the other hand, is primarily a statutory creature, and is defined variously in various statutes, so that, for example, one's "residence" for tax purpose differs from one's "residence" for driver's license purposes. And, to becloud the issue still further, one's "domicile"—the place one *intends* and expects to be "home"—may be in yet a third location. *Duration* is generally needed for "residence"; it has never been required for domicile, although duration may be seen as good evidence of intent.

This situation by itself is not terribly confusing; the difficulty occurs because the courts have expanded upon—and thereby impossibly muddied—the definition of domicile by saying that it is the place where one intends to have his *permanent* home. While permanence may have had a clearly understood meaning in the 19th century, it is the rare individual today who intends to reside "permanently" anywhere—certainly not until he has reached the age of 40 or so. No middle executive in a large corporation, no young faculty member (see D. G. Brown's *The Mobile Professors*) can honestly state that he will not move—and move far—in the next four years. Change is too swift, and opportunities too varied, to allow for such certainty. The statistics bear this out.

Thus, the concept of legal domicile, coupled with the presumption against a new domicile, if rigidly applied to voting today, could disfranchise a substantial portion of the otherwise eligible electorate. Most states and all local registration boards have recognized this fact, and simply avoid the issue by failing to ask members of these groups what their "permanent" intent may be. Only students, a highly visible and geographically highly isolated segment of this very mobile society, are subjected to the ancient concept of domicile in all its fury.

The anti-student amendment requires, however, that *all* persons vote only from their "legal domicile," which is defined as that place where one has a true, fixed and "permanent" home, and that place to which "whenever he is absent, he has the intention of returning." Wives who "go home to mother," or persons living for years in Chicago but who, upon inquiry, say that "Montana is home," might find a totally new identity suddenly thrust upon them. Applied scrupulously, the definition might restrict the franchise to those between 40 and 55, who have found a comfortable niche, but have not yet begun thinking of retiring in Florida.



Huffaker, News & Observer (Raleigh)

The ambiguity of "domicile" has generated a contrariety of tests to determine residence or domicile. Not only different states but different areas of the same state apply different tests—or no test—in registering voters, including the student. Thus, in Michigan, Ann Arbor registrants must fill out a special questionnaire, aimed directly at students, which asks about property ownership, local work and summer vacations; while students in Detroit have merely to demonstrate that they have had a sleeping residence in the city for more than six months. The potential student registrant in Alabama and Ohio is told that he can register only if he owns a piece of real property (how many registered voters in New York City, much less Tuscaloosa, Ala., could meet such a test?); a would-be student voter in California cannot register unless he is married, though his noncollege counterpart is confronted with no such qualification. To register in North Carolina and Texas, students must swear their intent to remain "permanently" after graduation.

One defense offered by the proponents of student disfranchisement is that the students are not in fact being disfranchised, since they are still allowed to vote in the county or state from which they moved. Here the argument runs so directly into recent Supreme Court decisions as to make them seem made to order for the student situation. In *Evans* v. *Cornman,* persons living on the grounds

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of the National Institutes of Health, just outside Washington, D.C., sought to review Maryland's refusal to allow them to register. The state claimed that these were residents of a "federal enclave," and hence not residents of Maryland. Rather than decide the point on narrow grounds, a unanimous Court, through Mr. Justice Marshall, took a broader approach: the state cannot, he said, exclude those who are "interested" in the election, without demonstrating a compelling reason. To demonstrate voter "interest" in the elections, the Court relied on the following factors: (*1*) enclave residents were included in the census determination of the state's Congressional apportionment; (*2*) the enclave residents paid all normal taxes, including income tax, to the state; (*3*) enclave residents could sue and be sued in the local state courts, both civil and criminal; (*4*) enclave residents were directly affected by local and state government, in the sense that their children attended local schools, they were victims of local crime, etc. It requires no great perspicacity to observe that each of these factors applies to students as well. Moreover, given current feelings in many American cities, the young are more likely than the average resident to be directly affected by local criminal ordinances, the police, and other law-enforcement mechanisms. They are more subject than the average resident to attempted restrictions on free speech, loitering regulations, and the like. Whereas twenty-five years ago law enforcement may have winked at the ways in which youthful exuberance was expressed, today the student may well find himself incarcerated for violation of liquor laws, traffic regulations, and other regulations. Thus, the student has a direct interest in the local affairs of his college community, for it is in every real and meaningful sense *his* community. Under the *Evans* approach, the ban on student registrants is baldly invalid.

Unquestionably, it is the enormous political potential of local student registration that has produced the widespread fear—mostly within the Republican Party; all of the fifteen sponsors of the anti-student amendment are Republican—resulting in the anti-student amendment, the Rockefeller bill and the Younger declaration. Aside from the merely local effects which registration of students might have, the national repercussions could be considerable. If, as the polls seem to indicate, students generally register and vote 4- and 5-to-1 Democratic, the effect on Congressional races in many areas, including some involving large urban-type universities in otherwise rural settings, such as those in Iowa, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, New York and elsewhere, might be decisive. In those spots, chosen in earlier times primarily for their isolation, the addition of some 10,000 to 20,000 voters might well make the difference.

The often-raised cry that students would "take over" university towns proves too much. If legalized pot and prostitution, greater concern about social issues and spending in the poverty areas, combined with higher taxes would be "oppressive" of the "local citizenry," then high sales taxes along with low property taxes, strict restrictions on activities engaged in almost exclusively by young people, and lack of concern about gouging landlords, housing violations, and pollution is even more "oppressive" of the student group, since the town residents would at least have the opportunity to vote, which is more than students now have.

Moreover, the facts demonstrate that the fears expressed by those seeking to disfranchise students do not materialize. Students have been voting for years in Madison, Wis., where a 60,000 student body of the University of Wisconsin has great influence in a 170,000-resident town, and in Iowa City, Iowa, where the student body numbers 19,000 of a 46,000 population. In Madison, the students have elected two city aldermen, but in Iowa City, their voting power has been somewhat diluted by the fact that local candidates run at large. The latter city is a particularly interesting case in point, since an aide of Representative Clancy, apparently unaware that students were being registered there, named Iowa City as "typical" of the small towns the bill was designed to "protect." Iowa City residents, however, do not think they need protection. When a bill was introduced in the state legislature to require students to vote in their parents' county if they were claimed as a tax deduction, the Republican Mayor of Iowa City spoke out to help defeat the move.

Indeed, the evidence is rather strong that the anti-student amendment was designed not so much to protect the "small college town" as to protect the Congressmen who sponsored it. Mr. Clancy, for example, has good reason to be concerned about the student vote; his district encompasses the University of Cincinnati, with a campus population of 30,000. In 1970, Mr. Clancy ran his closest race yet against a bright new star on the Democratic horizon, 27-year-old Gerald Springer, whose appeal to young persons in general is evident.

By no coincidence, the bulk of the 35,000 students at Ohio State University, plus more than 4,500 students at Marietta and Ohio Wesleyan, live in Congressman Devine's district. Congressman Miller, another sponsor of the bill, has 17,000 University of Ohio students in his district, and Congressman McClure's constituency includes 4,000 students at Boise State and 5,000 at the University of Idaho. There are approximately 10,000 students, including those at West Chester State and Penn State, in Congressman Ware's district, and the Ohio State students not living in Representative Devine's district are residents of Representative Wylie's district. Some of the other supporters of the bill appear to have smaller numbers of college students to worry about.

Banning students from registering and voting in college towns may have more important repercussions than simply leaving the structure of the local community unchanged. Even in those states, such as Alabama, which allow students to cast absentee votes, that cumbersome process with its attendant rigidity and technicalities may discourage hundreds of thousands, perhaps even millions, from voting in the Presidential elections. While there is probably little or nothing that can be done legally to affect this (the Supreme Court last year upheld an Illinois statute requiring prison inmates to vote absentee, even though this was made extremely difficult by their incarceration), the "chilling effect" on the vote is ominous.

Some states, however, are responding to the student vote with open arms. Within the past month, the Attorneys

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General of Massachusetts and Florida and the State Election Board Secretary of Oklahoma (all Democrats) stated that students should be allowed to vote where they wished to vote—either in their university towns or where their parents lived. The Vermont legislature recently passed legislation to that effect while still others, among them Wisconsin, have allowed registration for some time. In addition, Senators Cranston, Brooke and McGovern have each introduced constitutional admendments which would allow students to vote in their university towns. So, in one sense, the verdict from the politicians is still mixed.

The courts, too, are still "out" on the question. The proposal of an anti-student amendment demonstrates the tenuous constitutionality of the defense currently raised today by states that seek to disfranchise students: the Congressmen obviously believe the issue to be of such great difficulty that only a constitutional amendment could save the current practices of at least twenty-four states. At present, between fifteen and twenty court cases are either filed or contemplated in, among others, such major states as Michigan, Kentucky, New Jersey, New York, California, Ohio and Connecticut. One, filed in Alabama more than two and one-half years ago, is scheduled to be on the Supreme Court docket this fall, but because of procedural rulings below, the merits of opposing arguments will certainly not be examined even if review is granted. Elsewhere, delays either in trial dates or trial court decisions have prolonged litigation in Kentucky and in Kent, Ohio. The Michigan case, filed in state court, may clarify points of that state's laws, but probably will not be the ultimate decision on the overriding issue. Recently entered cases in New Haven and New York have a slight chance of being determined by lower courts and appealed to the Supreme Court before the 1972 elections. Relief before the Presidential primaries, which may turn out to be the most important elections in 1972, is almost unimaginable. Thus, if students are to receive the vote in any meaningful sense in 1972, it may well be that they will have to flock to the state legislatures in the next nine months and apply the political punch which, as a group, they could undoubtedly have. Otherwise, their enfranchising may turn out to be pure gossamer. □

HOW WE 'BOMBED' TOKYO'S PRESS

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Tokyo

Not all the casualties at the height of the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam after 1965 were Vietnamese. As American warplanes screamed low over North Vietnam, the U.S. Government and Ambassador to Japan, Edwin O. Reischauer, were dropping heavy payloads on the Japanese press, hoping thereby to change drastically a public opinion that was 90 per cent or more against Washington's war role.

Japanese public opinion was hardly affected. But the "bombing" made the tone of the Japanese press toward Washington considerably milder. Now a 400-page document, entitled *Writing on Stone*, and telling what happened from the time of the U.S. "escalation" against the Japanese press to the recent disclosure of the Pentagon Papers has been published in Japan with a first printing of 100,000 copies.

The author, Minoru Omori, a veteran of ten years' reporting in Washington and at the United Nations, was once *persona non grata* at the U.S. State Department. Why? Because he was the first non-Communist journalist to visit Hanoi after the intensified air raids began, and the first to report that U.S. warplanes, in broad daylight, were bombing civilian targets, including hospitals, schools and churches, and, incidentally, killing civilians. Omori's reports, carried on the front pages of *Mainichi Shimbun*, one of the world's largest dailies, created a sensation all over Japan—and offended the sensibilities of the State Department and Pentagon who kept maintaining that all U.S. bombing in the North was computerized and, thus, antiseptic.

As the bombings continued, U.S. officials commented tearfully that the Tokyo government was "perhaps better informed" than Japanese public opinion—"and that is why it is more understanding." (The words are Reischauer's.) The State Department responded by making the sweeping charge that the news rooms of *Asahi* and *Mainichi* were inundated by bearded Communists. But Reischauer, an authentic scholar from Harvard University, couldn't stomach that one. He praised the Japanese press "even when it criticizes American policy"; he lauded its "professionalism," "independence" and "integrity." Until, that is, Omori went to Hanoi and was followed by other Japanese journalists.

The biggest sore point was this: Omori reported that for ten consecutive days U.S. planes staged daylight raids on a leper hospital at Kin Lap, in the North; that the buildings bore Red Cross markings, and that many patients were killed or injured. The hospital itself was then inaccessible; but Omori and a colleague from *Asahi*, Shoryu Hatta (both were their papers' foreign editors), saw a documentary film of the bombing which they determined to be authentic because of the huge number of explosions in it. One scene showed a legless man being carried on another's back to an air raid shelter but being thrown to the ground by a bomb blast.

That same day Omori and Hatta saw with their own eyes destroyed hospitals and schools in cities closer to Hanoi than Kin Lap, and which, like Kin Lap, were miles from any military target. Seeing the terrible toll, Omori says in his new book, "It made us, people from a third nation, want to bury our heads in our hands."

An outraged Reischauer pounced on Omori, calling

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him a "poor newsman," a "biased reporter" and a "disqualified journalist." (Omori was the recipient of three international reporting prizes, two from the United States; a UCLA award and the UPI's Miles Vaughan distinguished reporting prize. Also, the Japan Publishers' Association had previously given him a prize for best reporting.) There was more: Omori and the *Mainichi* were blacklisted. When Omori tried to interview Secy. Dean Rusk, two "conditions" were demanded. First, the State Department wanted to read the report before it was published—in other words, pre-censorship. Second, the State Department wanted the whole front page reserved for Rusk with nothing else on it. Omori "agreed"—but only if the State Department paid his newspaper 20 million yen. The deal fell through.

But the 49-year-old editor suffered the brunt of U.S. pressure against the Japanese press. Reischauer's criticism was so scathing and State's pressure so great that Omori was forced to leave his newspaper. The Tokyo government, too, joined in the anti-press assault. Omori writes in his new book: "The result was that the Japanese press surrendered."

U.S. Sen. Mike Mansfield, the Senate Majority Leader, read Omori's reports in 1965 and endorsed the full report from Hanoi. Years later, the American Command in Saigon vindicated Omori. Also, as revealed in the Pentagon's secret history, the CIA gave supporting evidence about the high percentage—80 per cent—of civilian casualties from U.S. bombing in the North.

A former U.S. press chief in Saigon, Barry Zorthian, has suggested that the Japanese reports from North Vietnam were nearer the truth than the United States would have liked them to be. What were questionable were the statements about the air war in the North which the U.S. Government handed out to the press in Saigon, Washington and other capitals. Zorthian, a 47-year-old honor graduate from Yale, told the press in Saigon before leaving the post he had held for four years (1964-68): "I wish that we in Saigon had made it clearer that our air strikes in North Vietnam were not antiseptic, that sometimes [civilian] structures were hit by accident, rather than having the story come as a surprise from correspondents visiting Hanoi." Another remark by Zorthian is worth quoting. He said: "In past wars, American public opinion was favorably formed before the impact of the war hit. Here, the ghastliness of the war hit before U.S. public opinion was formed. And the prominent aspects of the war communicated have been the deaths, the civilian casualties, the impact on the Vietnamese. It is more difficult to communicate the imperative for our being here, the reasons why we are going through this hell."

Omori says he has never received an apology from the State Department nor any communication from Professor Reischauer, although he would welcome a meeting with him. He says he decided to make the full disclosure of U.S. intimidation against the Japanese press following the reports in *The New York Times, Boston Globe* and *The Washington Post* publication of sections from the Pentagon Papers and the U.S. Supreme Court decision in their favor "which gave us Japanese inspiration and courage." □

WHITE-COLLAR CONSCIENCE

THE CORPORATE UNDERGROUND

TIMOTHY H. INGRAM
Mr. Ingram, formerly with Public Television's The Advocates, *is now free-lancing.*

The Henry Miller of *Tropic of Capricorn* secretly declared war on corporate society, went "underground," and ran riot with his job at the Cosmodemonic Telegraph Company of North America. Today's rebels in gray flannel suits haven't gone to that extreme yet, but by switching from Brooks Brothers to Ralph Nader, they have been playing havoc with the old concept of company loyalty. Unlike the corporate politicians promoted by businesses, these new organization men are demanding candor from their superiors, and returning it.

Combining a revolt against meaningless job traps with demands for corporate responsibility, "employee power" is taking many forms. Some workers, like the oil company employee who rides his bicycle to work, are engaged in quiet, personal protest against company policies. Others are becoming on-the-job conscientious objectors, refusing to do things they consider illegal or immoral. Some are leaking dirt to the press or to consumer groups. Others are openly speaking out, as when the Polaroid Workers' Revolutionary Movement demanded that the company cease doing business with South Africa. Some, like the female employees who successfully brought a discrimination suit against Libby-Owens-Ford, even take the boss to court.

But potentially the promising protest is taking place in a half dozen or more San Francisco corporations where employees are publishing underground newspapers. At Standard Oil Co. of California, for example, an irreverent group produces *The Stranded Oiler*. At Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co. there is the *AT&T Express*; at Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., the now defunct *Met Lifer*. Outraged by calloused acts committed in the company name, these in-house muckrakers are telling their colleagues the facts, and embarrassing a lot of people.

Ralph Nader has been promoting a second type of employee rebel, the whistle-blower: the insider who publicly spills the beans on wasteful and corrupt practices within his organization. The classic case in government is A. Ernest Fitzgerald, the Air Force contracts supervisor who revealed the $2 billion overrun on the C-5A jet transport. For his public service, Fitzgerald was given the whistle-blower's award by the Pentagon—he was fired in an an-

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nounced "efficiency move." He, rather than the C-5A, was too costly to have around. The recent uproar over the slipping of secret war documents to *The New York Times* has again dramatized the conflict between group loyalty and individual conscience.

Undergrounders and whistle-blowers, feeling personal guilt by employment, are in a real sense turning state's evidence on their bosses. A sampling of the charges they raise and a look at the ostracism they suffer for their "unprofessional" candor and disloyalty to "the team," may give some insight into a more familiar character, the tongue holder, or shoulder shrugger; the fellow whose acquiescence allows corporations to pollute rivers, pass on unsafe goods, accept kickbacks, hustle frauds and conduct wars.

The 8-page *AT&T Express* is handed out periodically to the 20,000 San Francisco Bay area employees of Western Electric and Pacific Telephone & Telegraph (AT&T's California operating company).

The phone company is a prime target for any assault on the corporate state. American Telephone & Telegraph has more assets than any other corporation in the world, more employees than the federal government excluding only the Defense Department and Postal Service, and more bank deposits than any other firm in the United States. Its monopoly is more tolerated than regulated. And it is notorious for its rigid hierarchy of authority; its prescription and codification of every detail; its scientifically structured work, paternalism, and spying.

The underground *Express* offers no sex, but some vulgarities; it is biased, and at times inaccurate. Yet it raises some important questions. For example:

Sexism. A recent issue headlines: "Sisters and Brothers —Workin' Together We Can Make a Change." Why is base pay for women at Pacific $102.50, it asks, when the lowest salary paid to men is $116.50? Why are there no women in top positions in the union? Why do striking male employees expect women to walk out when the men don't support the women's demands?

Racism. The *Express* claims that black and Chicano phone operators with accents are sometimes harassed by having "language problem" stamped on their evaluation sheets. It also claims that once Pacific Telephone has hired its "quota" (employing the same percentage of minority people as those living in the areas it serves), Pacific feels it has done its part. The *Express* says that's not enough.

Job safety. The paper has carried several complaints about women injured on the job and then denied workmen's compensation. Pacific has allegedly either claimed that these women had the condition when hired, or fired them on some pretext. Also, says the *Express*, company doctors will order sick personnel back to the switchboard after a summary diagnosis. "What kind of doctor does the company hire that tries to make us all think we're crazy or else we're just lazy and trying to get out of work?"

Service. "The big organizations such as Kaiser, Bank of America, and the Navy are getting all of the service first," charges a former repair clerk. "Ma Bell wants to make a good show for her big money makers and the small-time resident phones wait and wait."

Employee privacy. The *Express* objects to "Big Mama" Bell's continual scrutiny by "secret means." (For decades, an incredible amount of daily supervisory monitoring of conversations between operator and caller has been justified as a necessary check on operator efficiency. Although supervisors are instructed to ring off when the customer begins his conversation with his party, the very nature of the system invites abuse. In March of this year the California Public Utilities Commission found that Pacific had violated the PUC's 1967 order against disciplining employees on the basis of information gained through service monitoring.)

Union. The May issue, evaluating negotiations for a new contract, complained that union members have no voice in deciding strike demands. "How can we keep leadership honest if we don't get information about what they're up to until too late?"

While offering some fascinating peeps into employee problems, much of the *AT&T Express*' report card on company operations is limited. Some of its complaints seem trivial compared to, say, the charge that last year PT&T overcharged California phone users by $100 million. The company claims that its 1970 rate of return was only 6.29 per cent, well under the California Public Utilities Commission's authorized limit of 6.90 per cent; however, a PUC staff report has computed Pacific's return at 7.97 per cent. The excess amounts to an average overbilling of $10 for every Pacific telephone in the state. According to Joseph Goulden's 1968 study of AT&T, *Monopoly*, the situation is not unusual.

Unfortunately, the editors of the *AT&T Express* don't apply their credo of full disclosure to themselves. No one on the *Express* would consent to an interview. A person familiar with the *Express*, and himself an organizer of an underground company paper, comments: "The *Express*' originators, many of whom have since left Pacific Tel, had visions of the workers throwing the supervisors out the windows. Their humorless, no-nonsense radicalism probably hurt them."

Top management of Pacific Telephone laugh off, at least publicly, the *AT&T Express* and say they have done nothing to stop its publication. They dismiss the paper as little more than a gripe sheet, just another leaflet from San Francisco's "handout heaven." In bureaucratic fashion, they have not answered the *Express*' charges, feeling, in the words of one spokesman, "It doesn't deserve the dignity of acknowledgment." The incidents the *Express* cites, say company officers, are either difficult to pinpoint, regrettable but isolated incidents, or absurd. So much for two-way communications, as practiced at the phone company.

To find out what it is like to distribute an underground employee paper, and how employees react to it, I stood in front of Standard Oil's shiny white headquarters on Market Street during lunch hour recently, selling copies of *The Stranded Oiler*. I had some sidewalk competitors: two guys hawking the Berkeley *Tribe*; a flower child peddling hand-painted ties, and a bearded, blue-jeaned, tin-cup-toting fellow playing a bagpipe.

This particular issue of the mimeo-size, 6-page

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Stranded Oiler carried a satirical column by "Aunt Thomasine" (the Uncle Tom of Women's Lib); a long letter from a former Standard Oil secretary, charging that she had been canned for calling the company "cheap," and a note on military contracts for petroleum products. All told, I sold fifty-five copies, although most of the employees walked by staring straight ahead. A few stopped to donate change for "the cause." Some commented: "Ten cents? That's too much." "Any discount for management?" asked one. "Asinine," said another. One young passer-by said that he worked for the Bechtel Corporation of San Francisco, a huge engineering firm, and was planning to start an underground newsletter there.

About then a middle-aged office worker warned me I was being photographed. Sure enough, at the top of the steps were two hefty men in dark green trench coats, trying to look inconspicuous by pointing their cameras at potted tulips. Another company security agent had his camera tucked under his jacket, with his partner acting as lookout. A fifth dick rushed past me, camera in hand, jumped into a waiting taxi, and sped off. As in an old Bogart film, I tried to strike up a conversation with a trio of gumshoes who had been standing, eyeing me for twenty minutes, but they denied working for Standard. Said they were independent architects. I asked if they were union. "*Union*?" one of them shot back, "What do *you* think of unions?" (None of Standard's white-collar force is unionized.) That ended our "interview."

As *The Stranded Oiler* puts it, "Our anonymity is due to our natural modesty, combined with a mild dose of instinct for survival." Now in its twelfth month of survival, *The Oiler* appears on the last Friday of each month, and is sold by hand and in news racks in front of Standard's offices. About half of the 700 copies printed are sold, the rest stolen. Most of its readers are younger staffers and middle managers. "We aren't very successful in reaching mailboy types and typists," says the editor of *The Oiler*, "nor the company's token black employees."

The Oiler's editor is urbane, married, a conservative dresser, a professional man. Surely he's no Abbie Hoffman. Sitting in his apartment, he says his irritation with the "insensitive, initiative-killing regimen at Standard" grew to the point that he had to find an outlet for it. "My main gripe," he remarks, "is that employees are not told what the company is doing, nor do they have any voice in directing what it should be doing. Standard could be making napalm, for all we know." He insists that employees have an intellectual and moral investment in the corporation, and should therefore have a voice in how it is run. "After all," he reasons, "if an employee earns $10,000 a year, he represents the same amount of money to the company as the Standard stockholder who is paid 7 per cent annually on his $150,000 of stock. The stockholder has a theoretical vote, yet the employee is never told anything, let alone asked."

Breaking the habit of silence, *The Oiler* provides workers their own counterintelligence. It prints scuttlebutt, employee-submitted articles, details on the latest firing or demotion, possibly on trumped-up charges, news stories, and tidbits from Standard's management newsletter. It uses satire—generally good-natured. Next month's *Oiler* will announce the winners of its "Pig Contest," selecting the "ten most oppressive people" in the company. In January, *The Oiler* claimed that Standard recruits its desk and drawing-board engineers to scab on its refinery workers during strikes. And last November it chided the company for requiring pregnant women to quit upon reaching their sixth month.

The *Oiler* occasionally runs its own ads to counter the company's "eco-pornography." Regarding F-310, the company's controversial gasoline additive:

> Scientifically, it is immediately clear that F-310 is a world-shaking breakthrough, entirely different from any other gasoline detergent. F-310, we have you know, is a real, genuine *poly-butene-amine*, unlike all the others. Guess what the others are? Right, they are only common ordinary poly-butene-amines!

A bit too simple, perhaps—Standard's chemists say F-310 *is* different—but the underlying point seems correct. As Sen. Philip Hart's Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly concluded after its study late last year, the difference between gasoline additives is so small as to be insignificant; and the main reason for developing and touting them is to promote sales.

The *Oiler* has also questioned Standard's production of defoliants and pesticides, its alleged attempts to influence the press, its role in the trans-Alaska pipeline, and the safety of its tankers. Recently it reported that a grounded Standard-chartered tanker leaked oil off the South African coast late last February. "Not a word was ever mentioned of the spill by our communications-conscious company."

At Metropolitan Life, an enterprising band of self-described "happy revolutionaries" risked their necks putting out the *Met Lifer*. Now defunct, the *Met Lifer* was the freest and in many ways the most probing of the corporate papers. It offered a potpourri of poems, recipes, doodle drawings, personal notes and "Stoned Rap." Its "Great Buddha" ("Life's Blossom Grows Softly") regularly advocated such frivolities as sunsets, laughing and dancing. But along with the sunshine was a definite political message.

The *Lifer* lampooned Met for "treating sex as a health risk" by turning down the insurance application of a 26-year-old man who admitted "having intimate relations with the opposite sex." It blasted alleged discriminatory rental practices at one of Met's housing complexes. And in a brilliant satire it named Met board chairman Gilbert Fitzhugh "one of us," claiming that Fitzhugh's slashing 1970 Presidential commission report on the bureaucratic jungle of the Defense Department ("Everybody is somewhat responsible for everything, and nobody is completely

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responsible for anything") was in fact a sly description of his own Metropolitan Life.

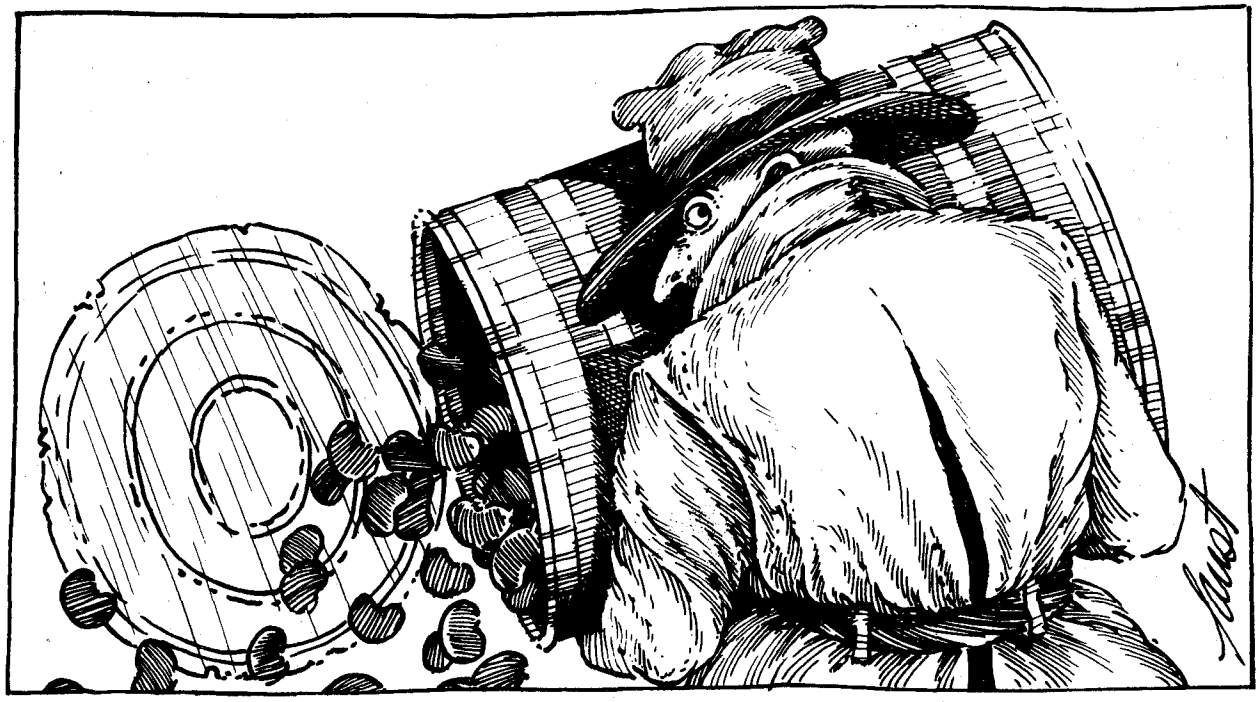
The fast-stepping *Met Lifer* continued until its editors were finally worn down. One left to join the staff of the *Good Times*, a San Francisco underground newspaper. Some had a change of interest and other obligations. Some became disillusioned. One bearded former editor has very mixed feelings:

> We went through lack of funds with the paper and late nights. We knew we were a thorn in management's side, which didn't really give us much pleasure. But we honestly wanted to make the company a better place to work. One week our bosses bore down to a point that it got, like, ridiculous. That's when we decided to leave Met, and let the paper die. I suspect management knew who we were.
>
> We had a particularly hard time relating to salesmen. Insurance salesmen are independent—the ultimate capitalists—and we were coming across as hippies.
>
> A lot of people read us, a lot of people enjoyed us. Certainly we made Met aware of the dismal lack in the company newspaper. It became embarrassingly obvious that the *Met Lifer* was so much more popular than the company's molasses. But effectively, in terms of manipulating the company, we did little. I would expect we probably had some minor long-term effect, if nothing else than the idea that, "Well, we better do something or we'll have this on our backs all the time."
>
> As my wife would say about "the Revolution" in general, we were playing. If we'd had a firm set of tactical objectives—a plan—maybe we could have done something; but we didn't. We said, "We're a forum; we'll publish anybody." We were the only forum for employees, really. But we were not an organized militant group with specific targets. We became like the humorous side show. Even the vice presidents read us, just to see if we were going to jump on them next.

The heads of Metropolitan, PT&T and Standard of California—especially the public relations and personnel managers—all minimize the appearance of the underground employee papers. Everything's under control, they say. A few gadflies, perhaps, but we can absorb them nicely, thank you. Nelson Bogart, vice president of industrial relations for Standard Oil of California comments: "*The Stranded Oiler* is part of the new technique of confrontation. With such low circulation, though, it doesn't deserve much attention." William L. Mobraaten, personnel vice president of PT&T, similarly asserts: "From personal experience, those opposed to the system don't keep their anti-establishment views for long. After joining us, they find how nice supervisors are, and they find their preconceptions don't jibe with reality. Their feelings become ambivalent, and they suddenly get *very quiet*."

Usually the strategy of absorption works. As evidenced by the *Met Lifer*'s demise, the gray corridors of corporations have an enormous capacity to mummify and homogenize creative people. Or drive them out. A spate of literature has been written about the powerful leveling effect of working for a large organization: the comfortable, pre-manufactured conformity; that certain caution necessary when people know they are forever being judged. Candor not only makes employees vulnerable to office rivals, it also classifies them as hard to get along with —conduct intolerable under the code of "responsible" business behavior. Normally duties are so narrowly defined that employees rarely realize the extent of their disenfranchisement within the company government.

Therefore, the very existence of employee underground papers—like the GI underground press—is significant, even if only a symbol of larger stirrings. The organizational mavericks who are printing these tabloids are not the usual corporate climbers. They're less tied to the paycheck, less indifferent to a higher ethic. They don't aspire to the type of success represented by a senior engineer at Western Electric or a branch manager for Metropolitan Life. The editor of *The Stranded Oiler* says, for example: "Some have told me I'm 'biting the hand that



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feeds me.' But I've never felt the dependence implied in saying the company is 'feeding me.' Rather, it's an exchange of goods. I'm bartering with them. I donate my labor to them and they give money back for it. Standard's getting at least as much out of me as I'm getting out of them."

The underground corporate papers present a sharp contrast to the stultifying silence and unthinking obedience found in most businesses; they also offer an alternative to the pap fed employees by company publications; and they underscore the scandalously inadequate reporting of corporate shenanigans by the regular media. A metropolitan daily can devote 60 per cent and more of its space to corporate advertising, and most of its business pages and a food section to puff pieces, yet conduct no in-depth investigation of the day-to-day operation of those companies, their claims, and their effect on millions of people; no "scoopery" of closed-door deals or coverage of corporate crime; no lurid details of the trial and conviction of famous firms; no mention, for instance, that a *single* recent price-fixing case involved a theft from the public of more loot than was taken in *all* the country's robberies, burglaries and larcenies during the years of that illegal price fixing.

If management really wanted to, it could easily enough identify the publishers of the employee underground papers. Although my reception at Standard indicates some chewing of fingernails, the papers are tolerated because they aren't viewed as threatening. And they allow corporate leaders, where such broad-mindedness is rewarded in "liberal" San Francisco, to pat themselves on the back for letting the workers have their little plaything. The fact is that corporations permit freedom only in those areas they care little about. To date, the employee papers have not *publicly* embarrassed their bosses, nor have they divulged anything that might be called top secret or raw scandal. Part of it is a question of style. It is simply not the style of most professional middle managers—those who have daily access to skeleton-laden closets—to start underground papers. Should the underground sheets begin to appear in other parts of the country, the tolerance may disappear. A group of bank officials in Los Angeles became indignant when shown copies of *The Stranded Oiler*, thanking the fates they weren't plagued with such nonsense.

The one thing *no* organization will condone is to have someone on the payroll display its dirty laundry and family feuds in public. That's treason. Yet that's exactly what Ralph Nader is urging employees to do. He's telling workers to blow the whistle on their employers when company activities harm the public interest.

To encourage workers to snitch publicly on the corrupt and unethical practices of their employers, Nader sponsored a "Whistle-Blowers' Conference" in Washington, D.C. earlier this year. "Until recently, all hopes for change in corporate behavior have been focused on external pressures on the organization," Nader says. "There is a great need to develop an ethic of whistle-blowing, where people put the public interest above narrow self-interest and bureaucratic allegiances, and assume personal responsibility for crime in the suites."

By applying public pressure, whistle-blowers often succeed in forcing at least a burp of response from offending companies—but usually at the expense of their own careers, finances and families. It is a measure of the success of these outspoken critics that executives aren't laughing them off as easily as they do underground papers. However, one might postulate a corollary to Parkinson's Law to cover the career pattern of job critics who go public: their downward mobility is in direct proportion to the honesty and public-mindedness of their service.

Ed Griffith is a case in point. He is in his 30s, a bus driver for the Airportransit Company of Los Angeles, and a man nagged by a sense of outrage at human stupidity. Last year he became frustrated to the boiling point at having to drive busses with worn tires, defective brakes, repeated mechanical failures, smoking exhausts and dirty seats. He complained to his supervisors about the danger to public safety—and to his own. No response. He returned bus after bus for repairs. Same thing. Tired of being put off, he finally went to local TV station KHJ to have his charges aired. They were, and he got response: he was fired.

The California Highway Patrol, charged with inspection of public busses, found that 25 per cent of Airportransit's busses were unsafe to operate, and ordered them garaged for repairs. Airportransit was not pleased. It directed Griffith to Company Rule #21, its loyalty oath:

> The company requires its employees to be loyal. It will not tolerate words or acts of hostility to the company, its officers, agents or employees, its services, equipment or its condition, or willful disregard of its interests by an employee, or criticisms of the company to others than his superior officers.

The California Attorney General's office has said that such a clause—forbidding an employee to disclose unsafe and even criminal working conditions—was "unfair as hell," but that there was nothing it could do to protect Griffith's job. The Public Utilities Commission, which certificates intrastate busses, professed similar impotence, stating that it was concerned with unsafe equipment, but not with what a driver said about it. Fortunately for Griffith, Airportransit was finally pressured into reinstating him, thanks to the intervention of his union and, more importantly, KHJ's nightly report on his plight.

Few whistle-blowers have been that lucky. There is no telling how many dissenting employees have been quickly and quietly buried in the company cemetery, cut off from responsibility and information. Informants tell me that in aerospace and defense firms cost accountants have a high mortality rate. A favorite trick around inventory time is to load up parts and stock already billed the government, and supposedly used in production, put it in trucks, and drive it out of town for a few days. The cost accountants who have honked the horn about this traffic of stolen goods have found themselves crated away—and worse, blacklisted. No one else in the industry will hire them. The message to the other men in these closed shops is unmistakable: like good children, they should be seen and not heard.

As long as the corporate brass is able to sit as judge, jury and executioner of any employee bringing charges against it, reform from within is a joke. And as long as

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the brass remains immune from internal challenge, any external attempts at regulation will have negligible and temporary impact. The legal rights of white-collar and professional employees, the people in a position to be aware of and halt hazardous and polluting practices, are easy to state: they have none. Except for union organizing, party politicking, or discrimination, they may be arbitrarily fired for any reason, or for no reason at all. The Bill of Rights, with its free speech and due process safeguards, has not been applied to corporations. Nor has any legislation been enacted to protect the civic and professional obligation of employees to oppose and expose their organizations' frauds and crimes.

The result of this unrestricted license to censor is that even employees who aren't crying "fraud," who want only to speak or write about their own professional area of interest, or about partisan issues, are subject to overreaching employer ostrichism. While I was working for Public Television's *The Advocates,* we lined up two experts from the RAND Corporation for a show on Vietnam. Both were highly experienced and articulate, and they held very different views on the progress of the war. At their request, RAND's name was not to be mentioned; they would be speaking as individuals. Everything was set, until RAND and its president, Henry Rowen, vetoed their appearance. The firm apparently did not want to jeopardize its government contracts or risk publicizing the fact that there were serious policy and factual clashes behind its "scientific" recommendations. Our experts chafed, but acquiesced. (I lost count of the number of government staffers who, afraid of a demerit, declined to air their opinions on *The Advocates*, even on the most technical and innocuous of subjects.) One of the two men at RAND, growing increasingly uneasy about the pressured secretiveness, finally left the organization last fall. He is Daniel Ellsberg—the man accused of having leaked the Pentagon Papers to *The New York Times.*

Most tongue-holders claim in private that they are being obedient team players now, in order to win a spot where *they* can call the score. By then, of course, they will have become so encrusted with career comfort that dissent will seem unthinkable. The Pentagon Papers are full of such men. The incipient whistle-blower, on the other hand, becomes an outsider—an exile in his own firm—wrestling like a spy with his conscience, with conflicts between what he is doing and what he really believes in. The undergrounder, with his employee newspaper, doesn't have to blow it all with one toot; his anonymity allows him to stay on the payroll and continue to pursue guerrilla activities. But the whistle-blower must go public, ripping loose friendships and connections.

Often the most perplexing problem is personal loyalties. As Nader recently said of his Raiders: "The most important quality of this kind of work is to have no anxiety to be loved. If you want to be loved, you'll be co-opted." Not many of us pass that test. When "friend Joe" approves the production of a home appliance which will cause a higher number of injuries than another model, it's not easy to condemn him publicly. Joe isn't *deliberately* hurting anyone—most engineers would say he's just making a cost and design decision. And, more than likely, several departments will also approve and produce this home appliance death trap.

A moral vacuum is created by fear of retaliation, ambition, company loyalty, friendships, lack of personal reponsibility for corporate acts, and that elusive hope of future effectiveness. The similarity to war crimes is all too horrifyingly obvious. With company functionaries just doing their duty, and with the My Lai problem of affixing blame, most large organizations have a built-in no-fault insurance. It was a year ago, for instance, that Griffith blasted Airportransit; there has been little change since. The same managers, the same mechanics and the same drivers are going about business as usual.

But should every employee have a *right* to fink when he feels his company has gone astray? Most businessmen turn purple when someone mentions whistle-blowers. Chairman James M. Roche of General Motors, in a speech before the Executive Club of Chicago last March, said:

> Having pitted consumer against producer, some critics are now busy eroding another support of free enterprise, the loyalty of a management team, with its unifying values of cooperative work. Some of the enemies of business now encourage an employee to be disloyal to the enterprise. They want to create suspicion and disharmony, and pry into the proprietary interests of the business. However this is labeled—industrial espionage, whistle-blowing, or professional responsibility—it is another tactic for spreading disunity and creating conflict.

Roche's sentiments are far from unique. As one newspaper columnist puts it: "Wouldn't it be sticky if everyone went around spilling the beans? Not many of us would want to live in a world where no man dared leave an associate and a Xerox machine together in the same room." Even those who might be sympathetic to what a company squealer is saying feel he has to be shown who's boss. Former Avis president Robert Townsend, that liberal-minded proponent of *Up the Organization*, says he would discourage giving a carping employee the privilege of immunity from reprisals. Discipline must be maintained. The sensitive employee should clear up organizational dry rot by disagreeing with the head man inside the shop, argues Townsend. If he's overruled, he can either swallow hard and accept the decision, or quit. Townsend would apparently have fired the GM insider who fed information to Nader about the Corvair's designed-in dangers.

As Taylor Branch points out in a recent article in *The Washington Monthly*, no company nabob likes to be lectured to by a subordinate. It hurts his pride and his sense of hierarchy—but not necessarily his profits, for the central fact is, large corporations do not go out of business. With one or two exceptions, a corporation's slice of the market may vary, and its position in the industry may shift slightly, but mergers and reshuffles keep its assets and machinery together. General Motors may have had to drop the Corvair, in part because of damaging leaked data, but that didn't put much of a dent in GM. The real threat the whistle-blower presents is to the peace of mind of corporate barons. Business leaders now are insulated from public scrutiny by the ideology of private ownership; and they don't have to face popular elections, as government officials do. The notion that insiders with higher loyalties will be looking over their shoulders does not sit well.

No one suggests that employers be required to keep

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liars in their employ. Nor is anyone denying employers the right to demand confidentiality in everyday business—in contract negotiations, trade secrets, client lists, and the like. But without the aid of tipsters—regardless of their motives for speaking out—outrageous corporate misbehavior will go undetected and unreported. The difficult problem is whether exposés involving the unauthorized use of company documents should be condoned. Accusations that corporate, regulatory and consumer protection laws have been violated usually call for written proof: invoices, correspondence, and other papers which have been neatly tucked away in company files. The problem is somewhat analogous to illegal searches and seizures by police. Illegal or unethical practices are taking place; should the evidence be obtained at the cost of right of privacy? Large organizations, quasi-public in nature, would seem to have less claim to a right of privacy than does an individual. Unless some basic democratic reforms are made in impersonal, tightly organized corporations, however, what little information emerges will continue to be carefully processed. Few secrets will break through the glossy exterior surface.

Having a corporate conscience is fine, but will it sell? If conscience is present in a corporation it is generally because it pays, and if conscience is lacking it is because *that* pays. With all the clamor about corporate responsibility, it has become radical chic for many balding businessmen to mouth social concern around Rotary Club and cocktail circles. But the chatter is cheap; and only nickel-and-dime reforms have resulted. Meanwhile, personnel managers have been working overtime, weeding out suspected "militants" and other undesirables in the hiring process, concocting minor concessions to soothe social sensitivities (like time off to become involved in causes *outside* the company), deciding on hemlines and pantsuits, making sure that offices are not used for employee-sponsored political discussions, posters, and the like.

A backlash has become evident in some segments of business. With a depressed 1970 on record, and profits down, top executives are telling their men to start producing and stop complaining—or else. Many share the growing testiness of corporate chieftains like Henry Ford, who, when asked if he thought the Episcopal Church was justified in praying General Motors to leave South Africa, snapped: "I don't think it's any of their goddamn business. It's none of our business how South Africans run themselves."

Although a dozen major companies in the past eighteen months have added officials to receive consumer complaints, few have begun to review employee concerns. Among the media, considerable press has been given *The Washington Post*'s experiment in appointing assistant editor Richard Harwood as its internal ombudsman. Harwood evaluates the paper privately through what he calls "in-house exercises" or "little sermons." His memos have upbraided editors for everything from errors in judgment and poor news coverage to advertising. "Like most problems in the news," he remarks, "these tend to be *ad hoc* problems. For example, I don't think this is a corrupt, evil corporation that wants to print untruthful advertising. If I did, I wouldn't work here. But occasionally you'll get some ad in that turns your hair, and I have raised questions about these." Suggesting the whistle-blower's problems, he adds: "There was a big flap here last fall when I wrote a piece for the editorial page criticizing a couple stories we had run. The reporters felt these were attacks on them personally—and they don't like that."

House critics like Harwood are still a rarity. None of the corporate executives I talked to were much impressed by this method of promoting internal advocacy. Nor did it seem to trouble them that present company complaint channels often force workers to go to the very person about whom they seek to complain. Of course, the ombudsman is not a total solution either, especially if he has no independent powers of investigation, cannot guarantee job protection to those who come to him, or has higher ambitions of his own. Harwood, for instance, doesn't raise the fundamental question of whether an audit should be run on the claims and possible conflicts of interest of *all* ads accepted by the *Post*; he asks, rather, whether *particular* ads are patently deceptive.

It is interesting that reporters, seeing the need for cleaning house, have set up their own underground employee papers. The *Chicago Journalism Review* was the first to appear; now there are similar reviews in about a dozen cities. Produced by local reporters, they mince no words in meaty snipes at their own papers. Predictably, "freedom of the press" has been scant protection to several newspapermen, fired for contributing to these reviews.

With managers busy sharpening their disciplinary tools, troublesome employees can expect to be cut short unless some basic rights are established. What are the contents of corporate citizenship? How much voice should employees be allowed in policy making and responsible dissent? Most businesses have dodged these questions, preferring instead to keep jobholders unsure of their status. To correct this, leaders of some unions and professional associations talk of putting an elementary employee bill of rights in the employment contract, or even in the corporation's bylaws, and demanding that workers have some say in how the store is run. Campaign GM II this year would have given employees the power to elect certain members of the board of directors.

The whole area of employee rights is a legal wasteland. Creative lawyers have successfully challenged arbitrary administrative power in the vast public welfare domain, and are now championing the rights of students, draftees, prisoners and the mentally ill—all subject to the arbitrary rule of administrative despotism. These same legal minds should begin to carve out some nooks of protection for employees. At the very least, wage earners should be guarded from job retaliation when they report the legal breaches of their companies, or testify in court or before a government agency. Perhaps, also, there should be a right to refuse, on a selective moral basis, to do certain work or tasks.

We simply can no longer afford to have entire corporations manned by people who unthinkingly serve. The whistle-blowers and publishers of underground employee papers are challenging traditional secretiveness and allegiances. Clearly no mass revolt is at hand, but employers are beginning to realize they can no longer expect unquestioned obedience, especially from the younger generation. Loyalty can no longer just be bought; it will have to be earned. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

'The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma'

DEMOCRACY. *By Carl Cohen. University of Georgia Press. 306 pp. $10.*

RONALD SAMPSON
Mr. Sampson is a lecturer in politics at the University of Bristol. His most recent book is The Psychology of Power *(Pantheon).*

It is curious how frequently in history the most consummate expression of a prevailing belief has tended to appear just at the moment when the belief in question begins to crumble and lose entirely its hitherto undisputed sway over men's minds. For centuries men were in the grip of the extraordinary delusion that some men were not men at all but what they called "slaves," whose own interests required that they be owned by other men. One of these alleged pseudo-men turned out to be Euripides, and people began to understand that slaves too were men. At that very time the greatest thinker of the age, Aristotle, produced the most elaborate and sophisticated defense of slavery. Even more fantastic was the belief that the rulers of men were not men but gods. Eventually men saw through this dreadful superstition also, and it was accordingly modified to the effect that the rulers ruled by right divine. And just when men awakened from this delusion, Filmer published his classic defense of the divine right of kings. And so it is today. After some two centuries during which men have been in the grip of a myth more terrible in its consequences than any of its predecessors, and are at last beginning to perceive its fraudulent nature, there appears the most elaborate and ably organized presentation of this myth, *Democracy*, by Prof. Carl Cohen. This myth, first fully elaborated by Rousseau, is that when people obey a government that is democratic, they are only obeying themselves and therefore are free.

In marshaling comprehensively all the arguments that have been advanced to explain and justify democracy, Professor Cohen reveals his gift for "exact and elegant expression," the qualities he admires in Madison and Jefferson. Democracy could wish for no more lucid or devoted or logically precise champion than Professor Cohen, but no man can make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and Cohen is hobbled from the outset by the logical contradiction in his working concept. The Greek etymology of "democracy," Cohen reminds us, is rule or exercise of power by the people. Who are the people and over whom do they rule? No nation has ever or can ever govern itself, Cohen concedes, but this is the "paradox" of self-rule. The essence of democracy is a system of community government in which the members participate directly or indirectly in public decision making. The degree of participation depends upon the breadth, depth and range of the democracy, upon the numbers enfranchised, the facilities in addition to the vote available for political self-expression, and the extent to which the general direction of public policy is shaped by the citizen body. The removal of issues from the range of all public control in principle is undemocratic. But the removal of business, such as legislative and administrative implementation of policy, by the people from the scope of direct public activities while retaining control in principle, is democratic.

Democracy presupposes first a community and, secondly, a commitment by the community to a belief in rationality. Reason requires that the decision-making rules be evaluated in terms of efficiency and protectiveness. A balance must be struck between majority rule and minority right. The check on the dangers of tyranny by the majority is that the majorities which rule should be fluctuating ones. The processes of decision making must be genuinely participatory, to which end the representative principle is the necessary instrument. This entails discussion of the selection of representatives, rules of decision making within the representative body, the role of the representative, principles implicit in resolving conflicts of interest between national and local levels. Five necessary conditions of democracy are defined, there being no necessary harmony among them—material, constitutional, intellectual, psychological and protective—all of which are discussed at length. Although democracy is itself ethically neutral, it may be vindicated pragmatically in terms of the wisdom of the policies it is likely to produce, its distributive justice, its peaceful resolution of disputes, its encouragement of loyalty, promotion of freedom of speech and intellectual growth, tolerance and flexibility. Democracy can also be *justified* by the principle that equals should be treated equally, all men are equal in their possession of human dignity, and it is this equality which justifies democracy, namely, equal right of participation. Finally, given the exacting conditions required by democracy, including high standards of education, the author concludes that in the light of humanity's present conditions the prospects for democracy are bleak, but that we are not thereby exempted from the duty to aspire.

This drastic summary does not begin to do justice to the precise definitions and the complexity and subtlety of Cohen's arguments; but thus stated it does not sound implausible and even appears attractive. The argument is, however, false in its foundations and it is dogged by that falsity throughout.

Traditional writers on this subject have been accustomed to distinguish between society and the state. It is a particular demerit of Professor Cohen that he blurs this crucial distinction by adopting "political community" as his fundamental working concept. This is a concealed contradiction in terms, since the essence of all "politics" is coercion, while the essence of all community is the voluntary principle. Professor Cohen is, however, sufficiently candid to make his self-contradiction explicit. He states quite correctly that "the nature of genuine civil community is such that force cannot be the principle of its unity. That unity must be founded on consent. . . ." He also states—again quite correctly, given his terminology—"Political communities are distinguished by the universality of membership in them, within a specified geographic domain." *Universality* of membership in the large "geographic domains" which constitute nation-states, can of course be obtained only by coercion. Therefore it follows that "political communities" cannot be "genuine civil communities." This is true, but although Cohen's discussion makes this conclusion logically necessary, he nowhere admits it, since to do so would be fatal to the entire chain of his reasoning.

There is fortunately no danger of the "citization" ceremonies that Cohen would like to see set up for the indigenous parallel to the naturalization solemnities for aliens, since the grim humor of universal compulsory "citization" based on consent would be universally appar-

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ent. It would give the game away. "The man without a country is a puzzling anomaly," writes Cohen, as though such a man were analogous to a man without a shadow. A man without a shadow would not be a man, but a man without a country would be a free man. Such a man is a puzzling anomaly only in a world created by men who live by the law of violence. It is an anomaly because to allow one free man would immediately imperil the fabric of obedience for all, which would be absolutely fatal to the power of those who command that obedience, and who see themselves threatened by those who command the obedience of all in other geographical domains beyond their control, viz., other states.

Since we all are required to have a country, we all have to have an allegiance to our own "political community," which then requires to be "protected" against all the others. Thus every citizen throughout the world must undertake a loyalty that "identifies a man" and is yet necessarily, through his loyalty, in conflict with other men like himself. Democracy presupposes a commitment to rationality, Cohen says, but he does not explain how to rationally determine a man's right allegiance. Just before World War II I stayed with a family in Ungvar (Uzhgorod) in the Carpathians. The family were Jews. At the time I was there they were Hungarians; a few months previously they had been Czechoslovaks; two decades earlier they had been Austrians; shortly after I left they became Germans; had they survived that experience, they would now be Ukrainian citizens of the Soviet Union. Would Cohen tell us which was their right allegiance? It is not possible, because such "allegiance" is determined by force, whether the force be democratic, oligarchic or autocratic, and force can never determine right. All states, including democratic states, have been founded on violence, usually a series of prolonged and bloody wars, and survive only by daily renewed violence.

Why cannot Cohen acknowledge this obvious fact? He cannot do so, because it is central to his purpose to demonstrate that citizens of a democracy are free in a sense that citizens in a non-democracy, an autocracy for example, are not. But consider the facts. In what sense can men who commit the most atrocious crimes under orders be said to be free? States like China, the USSR and Spain have authorized the committing of terrible crimes, but nothing in recent times begins to compare with the atrocities committed in Vietnam by the United States Government, and in Biafra, indirectly, largely by the British Government. And from where does the government of Pakistan get the bulk of the arms wherewith to massacre helpless, innocent people in East Bengal? From the United States. The name of Song My will live in the minds of men for centuries to come as a symbol of the victims of ultimate wickedness. Was this crime the responsibility of a democratic or an autocratic state?

Professor Cohen is at his best in the sincerity with which he pleads for the absolute right of freedom of speech, freedom to dissent, unencumbered by Mr. Justice Holmes's celebrated "clear and present danger" loophole. "Where any opposition whatever is silenced, the depth of the participation of the entire community is impaired," writes Cohen, echoing the generosity of Stuart Mill. The "democracies" do have a better record in this respect, but not that much better, and Cohen is mistaken in his belief that the cause is "democracy." Alexander Solzhenitsyn would not have suffered the fate he did in a "democracy." But it should be remembered that Solzhenitsyn, in jail for writing the truth, was freer by far than men who obey the will of others in contravention of their own convictions, because they delude themselves that that will, having been arrived at democratically, morally commands their obedience. For example—according to Cohen's reasoning—a British democrat, himself opposed to hanging, would not have been justified in disobeying the government on this issue prior to abolition, because the decision to legalize judicial killing had been arrived at democratically. In what conceivable sense other than the purely trivial could such a man be called free?

Again, Solzhenitsyn cannot publish his work in the USSR except in *samizdat*, but does anyone imagine that if a Western writer of similar quality were to emerge, and were to write the truth about how life is lived and how power is exercised in the "democracies," that he would be allowed the publicity necessary for a writer to become known to the great reading public? Would such a writer be awarded the Nobel Prize? Why was Tolstoy not awarded it? The British "democratic" Government so fears the truth that it has recently descended to expelling a convalescent student, Rudi Dutschke, and has denied to David Dellinger even the right of access. In general, however, the British Government, though repressive, is not as repressive as some governments. But that fact is not at all due to the existence of free elections and a representative Parliament and all the paraphernalia of "democracy." It is because of the extent to which a minority in Britain understand the inherent evil of power and government and disobey it. The British public were in April this year subjected to a "census," authorized by a freely elected, representative Parliament including Her Majesty's ultra-loyal Opposition, which required each householder on pain of heavy fine to answer questions regarding the members of his household's personal habits and movements, their culture, and by implication their moral convictions. The government has not (as yet) sought to enforce it, because an undisclosed number of the Queen's subjects—clearly a considerable number—refused absolutely to comply with the demand.

The single factor in our experience which dwarfs all others in the gravity of its menace is the totally insane armaments race, to which the "democracies" contribute more than their full share. Of this horrifying and criminal threat of the governments to mankind, Cohen, himself not a Pentagon general nor White House nuclear strategist but an academic philosopher, has this to say: People who hold that nothing can justify resort to large-scale nuclear war "may be right." But "there are those who hold that democracy is dearer than life itself —not only their own lives but the lives of millions of others—and that everything, without exception, must be sacrificed, if necessary, in its defense. This position requires a strong stomach, and is hardly consistent with Christian ethics, but *it may nevertheless be right.*" (My italics.) These dreadful words, fraught with their cargo of indiscriminate massacre of all living creatures in defense of a superstition as gross as that of witchcraft, or the appeasement of deities by living sacrifices, sharply remind us of the true magnitude of the peril which hangs over all mankind. In the conclusion to his book, however, Cohen says quite truly that "the wildest utopian scheme could not be more clearly and concretely insane than the present conduct of international war." The trouble is, I suspect, that with part of himself, Cohen, like so many of us, can see the truth clearly, but again like so many of us, he shrinks from an unequivocal statement of it because that would set him at odds with his entire surrounding culture, based as it is on the law of violence.

The theory of democracy is false for the following reasons. It rests on a basic contradiction between the belief that violence is necessary to enforce unity sufficient to maintain order and protection, and the belief that freedom requires that this unity should rest on

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the consent of all the citizens. No electoral system, direct or indirect, no participatory rules for decision making, no system of representation can possibly make me a participator in governmental power in such a way that in obeying the government I am only obeying myself and therefore am free. In a nation made up of millions of people there is no such thing as a general will, and even if there were it would not be synonymous with the will of the majority, howsoever defined. The avenues to power, in a "democracy" the representative institutions, automatically attract not the wisest and most selfless members of the community but those most susceptible to the lure of power and sometimes of wealth. Such persons seek not to "secure the blessings of liberty" but to secure their own positions of power, and if possible extend them in factional and party struggles, frequently bitter, sometimes corrupt, and generally accompanied by propaganda designed to conceal the real motives of the actors. The democrat's "most fundamental duty is to participate thoughtfully, not to obey," writes Cohen, but as a matter of theory and practice, a man who holds that he must always subordinate his own beliefs to those which have been arrived at by genuinely democratic procedures will never disobey government. It is not commonly true that fewer and lesser atrocities are committed by governments allegedly representing the will of the people than by those governed autocratically. And when it is so, it is because there are present in the community where government is less evil more individuals who are not afraid to obey their conscience and to disobey government.

The mistake arises because Cohen is in the grip of the delusion that freedom consists of being able to do that which the government, in which he is allegedly free to participate equally, permits him to do. This is not freedom, but voluntary servitude. Freedom consists in my being able to do what I wish to do without let or hindrance. I ought of course to wish only to obey God's law, known to me through a pure conscience—namely, not to do to another what I would not wish done to myself, and to so develop the impulse to affection within me that it flows out to all living creatures, even to those who persecute me and despitefully use me. If some men abuse their freedom in this way, then I must suffer their power, I must not resist it, but also and above all I must not obey it. Professor Cohen quotes approvingly the Gospel according to St. Matthew: "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." Well, it could not be put plainer, and it means just what it says. It is true not because Jesus said it. Jesus said it because he had discovered it to be true; and because it is true, it is open to each of us to discover it in the same way. □

Gift Horses' Mouths

SENTIMENTAL TALKS: TWO NOVELS. *By Daniel Castelain. Translated from the French by Patrick Bowles. Red Dust. 120 pp. $4.95.*

LAW AND ORDER. *By Claude Ollier. Translated from the French by Ursule Molinaro. Red Dust. 126 pp. $4.95.*

VIVIAN MERCIER
Mr. Mercier teaches English and comparative literature at the University of Colorado. His latest book, The New Novel: From Queneau to Pinget, *was published earlier this year by Farrar, Straus & Giroux.*

If my mother taught me anything, it was not to look a gift horse in the mouth. Now, these two little books from Red Dust, Inc., are truly gift horses, though from their price one mightn't think so. Red Dust (the name is borrowed from the classic Chinese novel, *The Dream of the Red Chamber*) is a largely one-woman operation based on East 81st Street, New York. Joanna Gunderson founded it to publish new work by unknown—unknown in the United States, that is—American and European writers. Nobody else in this country has had the courage or the foolhardiness to publish Daniel Castelain (virtually unknown in France) or Claude Ollier (quite well known among admirers of *le nouveau roman*) or Philippe Sollers (editor of the controversial review *Tel Quel*), whose novel *The Park* was brought out by Red Dust last year. It seems unlikely that this new firm will ever get its money back on any of the three books published in its "series of new French writing" to date, no matter what the price set for each. Let us not carp then at the brevity of the works chosen for translation nor at the fact that, except for *A Sentimental Talk* (the second novella by Castelain, never before published, even in France) they all date, by coincidence, from 1961. As I said, they are gift horses.

Nevertheless, it is the painful duty of a reviewer to look them in the mouth, and what I see in the Castelain book is somewhat depressing. Joanna Gunderson, the author and his readers have been badly served by the translator, Patrick Bowles, especially in the first novella, *An Unlikely Meeting*. Over and over again in studying the French New Novel, I have been baffled by the obtuseness of both translators and editors. Even Richard Howard, without whose efforts *le nouveau roman* might never have gained a fair hearing in America, is sometimes caught napping. But how, I wonder, does a presumably intelligent translator, rendering an author whom he knows to be intelligent, allow himself to put down manifest nonsense? And how does an intelligent editor—there are some—let him get away with it? After all, a reviewer can't spot a mistranslation unless he comes across an English sentence silly enough to make him look up the original. This one, for instance: "There's a woman sitting near him reading a book of a film . . . and from time to time she glances beneath it to see if he's trying to read over her shoulder." Try that feat as a yoga exercise some time, reader. A glance at the French makes it clear that the woman is not an acrobat: [*elle*] *regarde . . . par en dessous pour voir. . . .*" In other words, she is looking at him covertly, without raising her eyes from the book. This mistranslated passage, though absurd, won't distort one's comprehension of the entire novella. Another, on page 24, very well may: ". . . so that in reality he wouldn't have met the man and the woman *where he would have met them*, he's decided not to go to the rendezvous (he will have decided) . . ." Any reader who is paying attention will be puzzled by the words I have italicized, but unless the French is available (graciously supplied to reviewers who ask for it by Red Dust), he can't remotely conceive of the polymorphous perversions Bowles has practiced here. The passage should read something like this: ". . . so that in reality he ought not to have met [or "had not arranged to meet"] the man and the woman, or, if he ought to have met them, he decided not to go to the rendezvous, if a rendezvous had been set (he probably decided . . .)." Putting the three periods outside the parenthesis may have been an editor's "correction," but the blame for everything else seems to rest on the translator. He has even made

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the elementary mistake of confusing the French words for "where" and "or," which are identical except that one carries a grave accent and the other does not. Naturally, when the French in fact is ambiguous, Bowles is practically certain to make the wrong choice, writing "her," for example, where he should put "him." On page 41, however, there is no ambiguity: *"je l'ai vu"* is "I saw him," yet Bowles puts down "I saw her." Why? The only reasonable explanation is that Bowles acquired his considerable knowledge of French entirely by ear and does not know the grammar of the written language.

I don't really like Castelain's method, which pushes the New Novel technique to the point of parody. An essentially trivial incident is smothered in hypotheses to the point where one realizes that no one will ever discover what "really" happened. This leads back to the reflection on which the whole New Novel school is founded: nobody ever does know what "really" happened, ever. Nevertheless, Castelain deserves a fair hearing before being condemned, but with this kind of translator he never will get it. What little patience I had with his method has been so bedeviled by Bowlesisms that I cannot bring myself to read the French originals in full and base an informed judgment on them.

In general, *le nouveau roman* makes severe demands on translators. The style of a writer like Alain Robbe-Grillet is such a mixture of precision and ambiguity that the translator must take endless pains to decide which is which. Richard Howard has taken such pains with Robbe-Grillet; with a writer and/or a book he cares less about—Claude Mauriac's *All Women Are Fatal*, say—he is as likely to confuse precision with ambiguity as the next man. Most of the time, in any case, it's that bemused next man who gets the job of translating. Perhaps no translator is paid enough to take the necessary time to do justice to a *nouveau roman.*

Ursule Molinaro, who has translated *Law and Order* from *Le Maintien de l'ordre*, does not deserve the anathema I have pronounced against Bowles. Yet even the tiny slips she has made could throw Ollier's entire short novel out of perspective. Essentially, the protagonist —less narrator than camera lens—is remembering on a Monday evening the events of the past three days: Saturday, Sunday, Monday. It therefore matters considerably whether Ollier writes *hier* ("yesterday") or *la veille* ("the previous day, the day before"). Yesterday is Sunday, but, if the protagonist is already thinking about Sunday, the day before is then Saturday. By translating *la veille* as "yesterday" on at least two occasions, Molinaro has upset the already hard-to-follow time sequence of the story.

A French civilian official is in his apartment, looking out the window from time to time at two thugs who have been tailing him for three days. Over and over again we are given precise descriptions of the city in French colonial Africa that he can see from his window, of the changes in sea and sky, of the two men and their old Buick, seven floors below. Not until the book is nearly over are we shown the scene of torture that the official discovered on Saturday. The two thugs are ex-policemen, fired for extortion, who belong to a European underground organization that fights the Arabs in collusion with the French colonial police. The protagonist has found them and two genuine policemen torturing three Arabs—one of whom has in fact already died—in an isolated villa. The protagonist wants to compel the military commandant to stop the collusion and punish the torturers, but since all parties, legal and illegal, are fighting the Arab nationalists, the commandant has no desire to make waves. The civilian official does have enough power to make a scandal if he is not heeded. Meanwhile, the two thugs are silently threatening him, certainly with the connivance of the police. The book ends inconclusively: will the protagonist force his views on his colleagues at a meeting planned for Tuesday morning? Will he be murdered as a result? The jacket copy for the original French edition suggested that he might become indifferent to the whole moral issue.

Ollier makes no appeal to our indignation; he merely offers us a visual montage of what the protagonist sees and remembers, just as Robbe-Grillet did in *Jealousy*. We the readers must reconstruct the protagonist's emotions, if any. From Robbe-Grillet's masterpiece we get a very good idea of what it is like to be jealous, but Ollier fails to convey to us the reality of fear, if that is what he is trying to do. Perhaps Robbe-Grillet grips our imaginations more tightly by showing us some of his protagonist's fantasies as if they were realities, whereas Ollier shows us only what has "really" been seen by his official at some time in the past or is "actually" before his eyes now. Aside from this, Ollier, long a friend of Robbe-Grillet's, writes extraordinarily like him. He did not so much imitate the more famous writer as develop a similar technique almost simultaneously. The present translation reproduces Ollier's meticulous style with amazing skill, on the whole, but the spark of genius that we recognize in Robbe-Grillet is lacking in Ollier. Perhaps it is no accident after all that *Law and Order* has taken so long to reach the American public. □

Those Other Americans

CHANGE IN RURAL APPALACHIA: Implications for Action Programs. *Edited by John D. Photiadis and Harry K. Schwarzweller. University of Pennsylvania Press. 286 pp. $15.*

APPALACHIA'S CHILDREN: The Challenge of Mental Health. *By David H. Looff, M.D. The University Press of Kentucky. 174 pp. $7.50.*

HARRIETTE S. ARNOW
Mrs. Arnow, born in Wayne County, Kentucky, is the author of The Dollmaker *(Macmillan), along with other novels and two social histories of the Cumberland pioneers.*

Change appears to be the one constant factor of American society. Even Appalachia is changing. Aware of this, Mr. Photiadis and Mr. Schwarzweller say that the authors represented in their book "attempt to provide a basis for assessing the present policies and formulating the future aims of programs of directed change, such as the Extension Service." The authors in question are six professors of sociology, a professor of education, a professor of psychology and a dean of graduate studies. The Extension Service is that of West Virginia University.

The collection of fifteen papers read or published at different times by the nine professors is, when published in book form, a work without unity, repetitious, and containing a good many generalizations founded on a paucity of up-to-date facts on all of Appalachia. There are many tables of statistics, but the data make no use of the 1970 census; the latest figures given are for 1965.

The thesis of the whole appears to be that Appalachia should be so changed as to be able to integrate with the Great Society as quickly as possible. There has been a great change in much of Appalachia during the past three decades, but, as the authors point out, Appalachia is still far behind the rest of the country, or the Great Society "as represented by the values of the American middle class —and of the value orientations on which society is founded. Or in other words the style of life and value orientation of the larger society."

A survey conducted by Professor Pho-

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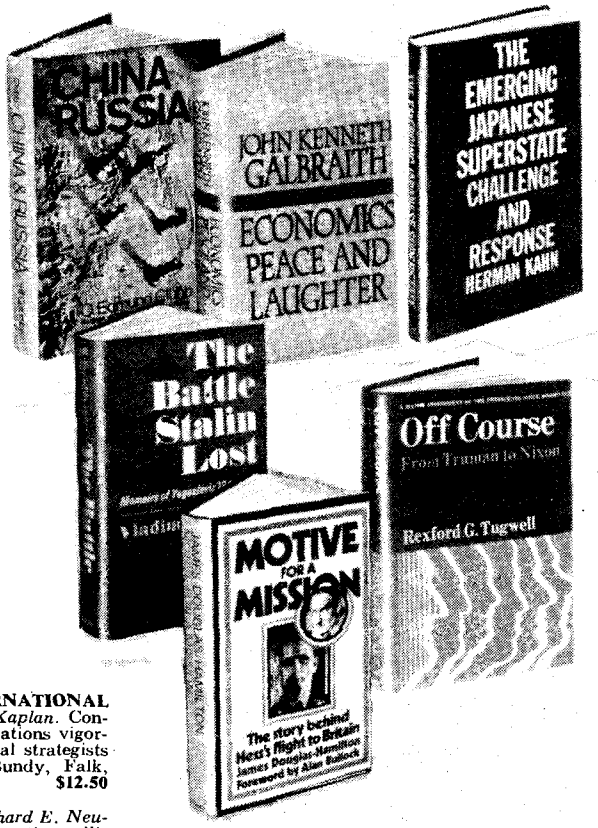

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tiadis among 1,300 West Virginia men would seem to indicate that their "value orientations" have not yet caught up with those of the Great Society. The respondents were given sets of questions designed to rank nine different ways of life according to preference. Religion was the first preference of most; family was second; achievement was far down on the list, many ranking it last, below recreation, outdoor living and material comfort. No date is given for the survey, nor could it have included the illiterate and semi-literate, for in order to give choices the men would have had to be able to read cards containing words foreign to their vocabularies.

The other chapters, or papers, are descriptions of different aspects of life in rural Appalachia with tables showing change in such things as fertility rates, income and migration. There is a good deal of emphasis on factors that inhibit change—particularly the folk subculture found in the more isolated rural regions. A good deal of space is also given to generalized discussions of programs for change.

The work leaves many questions unanswered. For example, what are the "value orientations" on which American society builds? Are they the best to hold up as a pattern for underprivileged Appalachians?

The authors are sociologists, not interdisciplinarians, but one would think that in discussing today's rural Appalachian at least some emphasis should be given to what the outside world has done to his environment while taking out and away the region's great natural resources. Prof. Richard Bell briefly discusses land ownership in one county in which three-fourths of the land belongs to absentee companies, but he says little of the effect of this on the people.

"There's room under here for you, too, Doctor." The speaker was 6-year-old Wayne who, following the patient, had crawled under the bed. The doctor was David H. Looff, a child psychiatrist working out of the Manchester Project, a mental health clinic a few miles from the patient's home in Clay County, Kentucky. The patient was Danny, a frail and frightened 11-year-old, the despair of all teachers who'd had him on his irregular visits to school; these amounted to parts of forty-five days during the last five years. Teachers and visiting county health nurses had also failed to help Danny's parents.

A county health nurse had managed to persuade them to bring Danny to the clinic. Alone with Dr. Looff, Danny lay on the floor, his rags over his face, and quietly cried. During the interview Danny had not uncovered his face or spoken.

Now, the doctor was trying a home visit. Home was a three-room shack, dirty, smelly, and set in a high cove littered with a slag pile and other refuse. Virgil, Danny's father, was unemployed, illiterate, an ex-coal miner suffering from anthracosis. Both parents, like many others of the very poor, had lived so long under the stress of extreme poverty that they had grown hopeless, resigned to their way of life.

The family of thirteen was not only poor, dirty, often cold, and sometimes hungry, but most of its members also suffered from some form of chronic illness worsened by an inadequate diet. So bleak and ugly was the life in Danny's home that the TV crew of a nationwide broadcasting system had filmed the family for a documentary on Appalachia.

Side by side with the depressing physical characteristics were anxieties, uncertainties, fears and the parents' feelings of defeat. (The myth of the happy, unconcerned poor is demolished by Dr. Looff as he describes case histories among the very poor.) Danny was a product of his home, the only environment he had ever known except the woods which he loved, and his few miserable days in school. Gradually, Dr. Looff gained his confidence. He learned the child was not psychotic but extremely sensitive to the difference between himself and the rest of the schoolchildren. He was too shy, too frightened to bridge the cultural and personal gap between his home and situations involving strangers.

It was clear to Dr. Looff that in order to help Danny the parents must somehow be put on a different course, one that meant not "welfare" but a better way of life, with sufficient self-esteem to maintain it. The job required years of almost daily visits from the public health nurse or student nurses, a special class for Danny with a sympathetic teacher, and more help from Dr Looff and members of his staff. Five years later all the children in the family, including Danny, were attending school regularly; the father had a steady job at light work and was learning to read; the mother had come alive, paying more attention to the children, and taking pride in her person and the better home they now had.

The story of Danny is only one of several case histories of troubled children —their names are fictitious—treated at the Manchester Project. Beginning in August 1964, the mental health clinic diagnosed and treated 287 patients during a six-year period. The project, named for its location in Manchester, county seat of Clay County, served three other counties—Jackson, Lee and Owsley. All four are among the poorest in Kentucky. For a largely rural population of 49,000 there were only eleven physicians available and fifty-four hospital beds.

Fortunately for the poor, the region had an outstanding public health service staffed by Dr. Mildred Gabbard and eight senior public health nurses. It was Dr. Gabbard and her staff who first realized the need for psychiatric help among the 20,000 children in the four counties. They turned to the Department of Psychiatry of the University of Kentucky College of Medicine. The Manchester Project was the result. *Appalachia's Children* grew out of Dr. Looff's six years of work with emotionally disturbed children.

During these years one patient was a 24-year-old woman; the other 286 were children ranging in age from preschool to 18. The patients represented all classes, though more than half came from poor or very poor families.

These children suffered from a variety of disorders. Save for eleven who were mentally retarded and three with brain damage, they could be helped and often cured. The younger the child and the shorter the time he had suffered from mental illness, the better the outlook for normal behavior. School phobia, for example, accounted for a large percentage of the caseload. The child with acute school phobia that had lasted only a short time could almost always recover and attend school. Cases of chronic school phobia that had lasted more than a year before treatment showed very poor results.

In addition to the clinic patients, Dr. Looff and his staff discussed with teachers the cases of 650 maladjusting school-age and preschool children.

The author emphasizes the fact that treatment was a team effort. Patients were usually referred to the clinic by a public health nurse. The first step in diagnosis was always to get the complete history

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nine months into
darkness a
woman
senses the
joy in her
and she
turns
to that of it
which is
light
with a
first
goodbye

Alvaro Cardona-Hine

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of the child with special attention to his home and its people. All this followed by treatment required the cooperation of county health nurses, teachers, and sometimes social workers or physicians. Even more important was getting the trust of the child and the understanding and cooperation of the parents as in the case of Danny. Dr. Looff gives his reason for close study of the home: ". . . I, along with many others, view mental disorders as social phenomena much more than as objective, constitutionally given conditions of individual persons. Mental disorders—or mental health—are firmly embedded in a social matrix."

No matter how remote the home, the people there are in one way or another affected by their surroundings. In eastern Kentucky, as described by the author: "Distress of all kinds is severe and long-lasting. Unemployment, underemployment, disease, out-migration of many people in the potential labor force who leave behind their old kin and the children, low educational levels, lack of any economic balance, marginal agriculture —all these problems remain chronic and acute."

These burdens fall heaviest on the very poor and their children. Welfare may keep them from starving but does not break the poverty cycle. In spite of millions of words spoken and written on poverty in Appalachia, it is estimated there are still a million poor and very poor who have not been helped.

Appalachia's Children tells how the very poor, the hopeless, and the apathetic can be led into better lives. It is a grand book for the reader interested in people. Any professional trying to work with Appalachians who resent and resist all attempts to help them should read this work. The defeated may in time become as hopeful as Dr. Looff, who writes of the Appalachian people: "They have suffered long periods of struggle and despair. They have known economic and personal defeat. But, looking at the other side of the developmental coin, one can see that these people possess also certain unique qualities. Many from the region have already utilized these strengths to build their own lives. Others, less fortunate, have yet to do so. But the strengths are there for them as well—latent, yet to be fully tapped—but present nonetheless."

This hope cannot be realized without a good number of better-than-average psychiatrists and other professionals, and money. Lots of money. The Manchester Project was financed by the Department of Psychiatry of the University of Kentucky College of Medicine and the health departments of the four counties it served. Later the project received a continuing-education grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. □

Invoking the Hidden God

THIS WORLD. *By Harvey Shapiro. Wesleyan University Press. 79 pp. $4. Paper $2.*

HAYDEN CARRUTH
Mr. Carruth is a poet, novelist and critic. His most recent books are For You *(New Directions) and* The Clay Hill Anthology *(Prairie Press).*

Sometimes it seems regrettable that a poet whose stylistic beginnings are sharply individual should become assimilated in his middle years to a more common way of writing. We have few enough distinct voices; the loss of even one is a misfortune. Such is the case, for instance, with Philip Levine, whose early poems are tonally unlike any ever written by another American, or with Arthur Gregor, though perhaps not so acutely; and a third example is the poet whose new book, entitled *This World,* comes to our attention here: Harvey Shapiro.

Yet a further general observation must be added immediately, and it is this: that in many cases, certainly in the three cases I have mentioned, our regret cannot go beyond mild suppositional nostalgia, for two good reasons. First, the later work of these poets, though it lacks distinctness of voice, is demonstrably superior on other counts to the earlier. Secondly, no reviewer has a right to criticize a poet's working methods, which are his private domain. It is perfectly conceivable that conformity may be as deeply necessary to one poet's continued artistic life as irregularity is to another's.

The early poems of Harvey Shapiro that seem to me the most successful are from his second volume, *Mountain, Fire, Thornbush* (1961). There he combined a standard and flatly lyrical English prosody, somewhat in the manner of Paul Goodman, with an evocation of Jewish religious feeling that touched not only its sophisticated metaphysical depth but its essentially tribal cohesiveness. I don't know how modern American Jews feel about this. To those of us raised in the Christian tradition, with its vaguely universalizing tendencies, this tribal feeling is particularly attractive. We think of other

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The British Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam, working with similar national committees in Europe, has since 1965 sent over $355,000 worth of medical and hospital equipment to Vietnam, and over 6,250 pints of blood as dried plasma to the National Liberation Front Areas of South Vietnam and to North Vietnam. Recently it has extended its aid to the bombed areas of Laos and Cambodia, but this can only meet a small part of an infinitely great need. Much wider support is needed.

The Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam is sponsored by nearly a hundred leading British scientists, scholars, Members of Parliament and public figures. Its President was Lord Boyd Orr, F.R.S., who has recently died; and Dr. Dorothy Hodgkin, O.M., F.R.S. is the vice-president. The Committee welcomes financial aid for this vital work in lessening the agony that is being inflicted on the people of Indochina.

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American Jewish poets who have shown it to us, Charles Reznikoff or Hyam Plutzik, though we also think of those more secularized poets, like Delmore Schwartz or Karl Shapiro, who have not shown it to us at all.

But there is a more important aspect of this Jewish religious poetry that attracts us, the fact that none of these poets is religious in the ordinary sense. They are neither mystical nor orthodox, either of which would offend our non-religious experience. Instead they treat religious themes with a familiar if edgy worldliness that often amounts to skepticism, or even cynicism, but that never quite lets go of the religious handle. It is a kind of familiarity impossible in the Christian tradition, and it must be one of the main contributions of the *shtetl* to Western life. It is the serious side of Jewish humor. Certainly it permits an easier transposition of religious values than other Western traditions, as we see in parts of central Europe today where religious and radical materialist attitudes persist not only side by side but complementarily in the same ideological complex. In analogous ways such cultural amenability is useful to the poets.

Harvey Shapiro writes:

Where did the Jewish god go?
Up the chimney flues.
Who saw him go?
Six million souls.
How did he go?
All so still
As dew from the grass.

Yet he is not gone. He is only arrested in a kind of endless going, there in this poem so very much alive. It is like a new ontological proof in aesthetic terms. In other poems Shapiro's religious heritage becomes the "dreams of the dead fathers I believe in," dreams occurring in the midst of wakeful reality:

You will be called by your name.
You will be seated in your place.
You will be given what is yours.
The dream goes something like that
For everyone, I suppose, except
When it's happening and the world
Comes true, the air, the sky.
But all of yesterday and again today
I knew the dream. Age will end it.

In short, Shapiro writes in sardonic reverence because he has "felt the power/Of what I did not know." His poetry is "a practical use/Of mysterious names." It is modest, usually simple, but precise, courageous, and unflinching in its sadness. It is very human. Its voice, if less distinctly Shapiro's, is more distinctly everyone's. It gives no answers, but its propositions define our crisis with a control and carefulness that turn into power. This is not the poetry of Greece, which seeks to move us but the poetry of Semitic Asia, from Babylonia to Israel, which seeks to convince us; and indeed we are convinced, over and over, left in a kind of apocalyptic stasis of terror and sorrow and laughter.

There is no reason for survival.
As we drift outward
The tribal gods wave farewell.

These poems are Shapiro waving back. It takes strong hearts to read them. It takes lucid minds. For as it turns out, the loss I spoke of at the start, the loss of individual voice, is itself eloquent of the time to which these poems are so immediately attached—our time. In the stress of confrontation with ultimate meaning, we flee to anonymity. We begin to feel, in these poems as elsewhere, the stirring of a strange, deep, supremely compelling allegiance to the species. □

MUSIC

DAVID HAMILTON

To a New York-based operagoer, the most striking feature of this summer's London production of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* was the inclusion of every note of the score. Perhaps someone with a very long memory can recall such an uncut performance in this city (conceivably during the midweek matinee Wagner cycles of the 1930s), but in my experience of broadcast performances since 1935 and stagings since 1950, the second and third acts have always been rather drastically abridged, upsetting the tonal and textual balance of the love duet and severely telescoping the development of Tristan's delirium. (Since the Met's forthcoming new production is announced with a 7:30 P.M. curtain, we may assume that more or less the usual cuts will once again be made.)

Adding to the pleasure of the Covent Garden production was an exceptionally well-paced and contrapuntally alive reading of the orchestral score, led by the company's retiring musical director, Georg Solti. This was a far cry from his approach to this work a decade ago, as exemplified by the London recording: a thing of many climaxes but little continuity of tempo or texture. The extremes are now smoothed out, the climaxes intelligently structured, and the "long line" well preserved; in brief, this production was comparable in most respects to last spring's concert reading of *Das Rheingold* in New York (save that the latter benefited further from the exceptional playing of the Chicago Symphony).

Aside from the two principals, the cast at Covent Garden was drawn from its resident company, with Josephine Veasey a strong Brangäne and David Ward an eloquent, Hotteresque Marke (much happier in these lower regions than as the *Rheingold* Wotan). Imported were Jess Thomas and (for the last two performances) Birgit Nilsson, who will appear in the New York production. Age is beginning to catch up with the soprano's voice, for although her dynamic and tonal ranges seem in principle unimpaired, there is an occasional coarseness in the sound, and the phrasing is less than consistent in quality; as always, her method of vocal production presents the listener with a modicum of imprecisely defined pitch, evidently a sacrifice on behalf of sheer power. Fortunately, her delivery of the lines is sensitively colored even when the diction is fuzzy, and her acting, especially in the first act (Isolde's point of most specific characterization), is exceedingly responsive to the others on the stage. Thomas, despite unevenness of production, gives an honest, straightforward Tristan, better able to stand up to Nilsson than most of his recent predecessors, and with reserves of power for the third act (a considerable achievement in an uncut performance, since the usual cuts spare the tenor much more than the soprano). There was ample evidence that he understood the import of his lines in more than the usual superficial sense.

Much has been written about Peter Hall's production, and much of it is negative, but the basic impulses and a good deal of the execution showed an uncommon grasp of the opera's symbolic substructure and the score's specific, if often carefully elided, articulations. By the time I saw it, a number of extravagant details (including the notorious spilling of Tristan's innards in the last act) had been removed, and apparently the already modified "transfiguration" of Tristan was entirely expunged at the last performance. At all events, it was a production with a more elevated aim than merely moving people around the stage (although that aspect was very well handled). John Bury's sets were spare and practicable, but the Burnes-Jonesish costumes (including an improbable ball gown for Tristan in Act II) were an embarrassment.

In general, one's impression of the Covent Garden company at the end of Solti's tenure is favorable, and the quality of the audience is also noteworthy: relatively younger than in New York, and generally more serious and knowledgeable. The theatre is, of course, more appropriately scaled for the bulk of the repertory. Over the years, I have

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seen "big" works such as *Turandot* and *Die Meistersinger* make a perfectly good effect there—and obviously intimate comedy can be staged effectively at a level more subtle than the George Abbott style locally prevalent. This summer, Rossini's *Barbiere* provided an immensely enjoyable experience, with the American soprano Patricia Wise (a last-minute substitute for Marilyn Horne) not at all out of her depth playing against three very polished comedians, Geraint Evans (Bartolo), Sesto Bruscantini (Figaro), and Forbes Robinson (Basilio). On the other hand, a performance of Britten's *Peter Grimes*, basically similar to the excellent Metropolitan version, seemed overdrawn in the smaller house—especially Jon Vickers' intense portrayal of the title role, which from close range appeared to start at too high a pitch of paranoia. Colin Davis conducted, rather roughly and in a manner that emphasized the contrived organization of some scenes. A decidedly positive factor, however, was Heather Harper as Ellen Orford. □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

The definition of realism is floating at the moment. John Baur calls Edward Hopper the "foremost realist of 20th-century American art," but a writer in *New York* magazine calls Andy Warhol "our greatest realist." They can't both be right, if we assume realism to have an agreed-on meaning. Warhol, as a painter, deals basically with sign-aggregates, the original source that he quotes and his presentation of it as art. He transfers flat signs to a flat surface. It is art, but not a realistic one. Realism is what we call art produced by the artist's perception of solid objects in three-dimensional space. This does not reduce it to inventory, of course; realism is the record of a perception, not an objective mapping of something out there. However, the assumption of knowable objects out there is necessary to realism, whereas Warhol is dealing with material already coded, such as trademarks and photographs.

The Edward Hopper bequest to the Whitney Museum contains more than 2,000 works, which are now added to the six oils already in the collection, including one of the most famous of realist pictures, "Early Sunday Morning," 1930. Hopper seems to have kept everything, student life studies, small conté sketches of details for paintings, as well as paintings from all phases of his life. On view at the Whitney (until October 24) are 157 pieces from the bequest, fifty of them oils. They not only testify to Hopper's seriousness, they remind one of the problems of realism.

Hopper does not belong with those realists whose painting has to do with transmitting a sense of constant change by means of pictorial vivacity. Painters of this kind include Hogarth, Degas and, say, John Sloan: each of their pictures is one of a chain of possible episodes. Hopper's mode is more like that of Vermeer or Corot in his Roman paintings, but not in the soft hazy ones. The bequest includes an interesting group of largely unknown work done in Paris early in the century. There is a residual animation in the brushwork, derived perhaps from Robert Henri or from a pruned Impressionism, but, characteristic of what was to become the Hopper canon, the shadow level is rising and massive forms are emerging. As an artist paints realistically, his image comes to correspond point by point to a configuration external to the canvas. By necessity and by choice he leaves out more than he transcribes. Criticism of realist painting has suffered from putting too much emphasis on copying and not enough on the contractions and omissions. Among Hopper's excisions are accidental features and the suggestion of motion, everything in fact that Sloan looked for as well as at. Hopper presents the landscape of industrialism but not its population; the man-made structures of a society with a Malthusian birth rate.

There is however an iconographical compensation for all the movement and incident that Hopper suppresses. One might call it the theme of the momentous threshold, and it takes two forms. Throughout his work he concentrates on the areas between spatial zones on a domestic scale—verandas, porches, doors, windows, steps. On a larger scale he uses the architecture of transportation: streets and railroads, bridges and lighthouses. The persistence of interface imagery implies the change and motion that are excluded by the static forms Hopper actually shows.

Just as the interface images imply continuation and change, either as movement or journey, so the light sources in his pictures are strong but remote. The blaze on a wall or the gnomon of a shadow set coordinates on a far-off sun. Which reminds me, there is something very odd about Hopper's light. His light effects do not really convey a sense of light as radiation, reflected from the surface of things and diffused by atmosphere. He paints light as if it were a kind of coating, a film over objects, a continuous liquid. In a monochrome drawing for the painting "Rooms For Tourists," 1945 (Yale University Art Gallery), Hopper made verbal notes on color: "mild warm/dark green shadow/light streaks/greenish/high green spot/cooler/ruddy light." An Impressionist painter could not have verbalized his colors and tone in this way, after seeing them and before painting them. However, the effect of this abstraction of color seems to conform to Hopper's intentions: not only are his paintings physically static, even the light seems slowed down. He presents the world as though immobilized by the act of painting.

The advantage of a corpus (if not a complete, at least a large collection of a man's work) is that the pieces illuminate one another. For instance, the smaller watercolors seem better, on the whole, than the large ones, because as Hopper's scale increases he tends to push toward a degree of finish approximating that of the oils and this produces a worn surface. In the drawings in conté and charcoal, Hopper sometimes achieves more pleasantly those effects of dark shadow that can become labored in the paintings.

When the Hopper bequest was announced last spring, John Baur out-

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A metronomist or a fulminitian!
I could explore catanthropy,
Feed carboils into linguascopes,
That is if I had enough statistical training.

Someone, after all, should champion the
Lost cause of the campestrials,
Noted for their green fur.

I see there is an opening in vortices
But for this a tremendous background
In residuals is required.

I suppose I could package seawater
And develop a mail order business.
Many are said to have grown rich
Raising spurgeons in their backyards.
One can learn to be a hyperaesthesiast
In ten easy lessons.

I proofread the last ten years
Of my life carefully.
I am now too old to grow a beard.
Alas, I have waited too long!

H. R. Hays

lined the museum's responsibilities. They were to (*1*) keep the major part of it, (*2*) keep a "sufficient number of minor works" to show Hopper's development, (*3*) document everything, and (*4*) possibly unite drawings with the paintings in other collections to which they relate. There was a fifth point and that concerned "the sale of lesser works and duplicates" to help meet exhibition and acquisition expenses. The last of these objectives was linked to the popular cause of helping young artists, but one hopes that in the event the corpus will not shrink much.

The centralization of an artist's work is one of the most valuable functions of a museum. The work of the artist and the periods of his life set the terms of reference. The collections of Turner at the Tate Gallery and of Velásquez at the Prado are obvious cases of fruitful monopoly. The Asger Jorn bequest to the museum in Silkeborg, Denmark, or the Howard Pyle collection in the Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington, are other examples. The artists gain from being seen in depth, more than if every museum had one of their works. The merit of concentration holds true for smaller groups, too, such as Pietro Longhi at the Pinacoteca Querini Stampalia, Venice, and Clyfford Still at the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo.

The matter seems important at the moment because of the way in which the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, which has a great deal of Kandinsky, continues to shed its treasures. In 1964 fifty of his paintings were sold and on October 20 another fourteen paintings and thirty-three watercolors are going on sale at Parke-Bernet. The Guggenheim takes satisfaction in retaining seventy oils and fifty watercolors by Kandinsky in what one begins to hesitate to call its permanent collection. For instance, the museum has a substantial group of Albert Gleizes' paintings, and now that his prices are going up some of his work is to be included in the sale.

Museums store unique items of which there is a limited supply and they serve us best when the fullness of an artist's work is maintained. Otherwise every museum would drift to a banal level of equal probability, with one Kandinsky in the Prado, one Turner in the Guggenheim, one Longhi at Silkeborg, one Still at the Querini Stampalia, and so on and on. Publications, loan exhibitions, and public access distribute art sufficiently without the permanent scatter of original works. □

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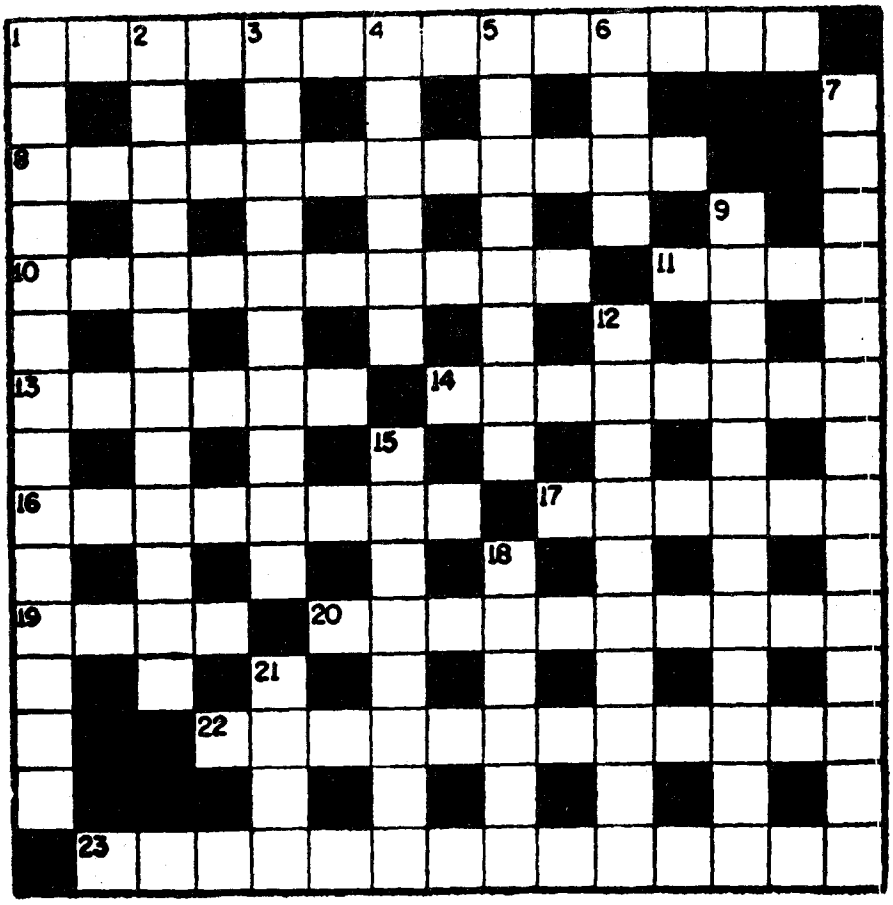
Crossword Puzzle No. 1407

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 13 down
9 Gets up a way to look down on the stars? (7)
10 The left part has in its use dire results. (7)
11 An agreement to attempt to dine inside? (6)
12 Compounds of high molecular weight, replacing oils for some. (8)
14 What a baby does with an article in old sand piles (now of wood or plastic). (7)
15 Puts powder on or takes it off? (5)
17 Act, but unusually (and perhaps hesitantly) if in this. (5)
19 Self-reliance is one of the things he is noted for. (7)
21 S. H. Carlos and other learned folk. (8)
23 Haupstadt composer? (6)
25 Certainly not the way to peace. (7)
26 A little place for a scientist to work on a degree, and so state? (7)
27 Though young, slaved at a composition in a profitable manner. (14)

DOWN

1 Returned the delivery in boxing, as the front of the store might be. (9)
2 Not precisely how a Scotsman might describe a non-fragrant flower beginning to develop. (7)
3 The regular sound of an organ, but you might discover a bat there. (9)
4 Such a bearing could never be yours, however. (4)
5 How could such hats be so short a production? (10)
6 Trial associated with 19. (5)
7 Hounds, perhaps, and other animals. (7)
8 A band across the escutcheon seems childish to own. (4)
13 and 1 across A fair complaint for the late John? (2,4,4,3,3,6,2)
15 Roads deep in the wild, wild west reputedly. (9)
16 Next after the first, it's equivalent to high for some 21 across. (9)
18 In an other than new environment, she might be easily led. (7)
20 Rough sailing for antelopes? (7)
21 Scatters like animals. (4)
22 Proving a priest under fifty might be a bit of a beast. (5)
24 Go with the Scottish in a group? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1406

ACROSS: 1 and 10 Happy Birthday to You; 11 Arboretum; 12 Bandboxes; 13 Swear; 14 Nitrous oxide; 19 Address books; 22 Clips; 24 Happening; 25 Nestlings; 26 Voice; 27 Covered dishes. DOWN: 2 Anyone; 3 Pourboire; 4 Beaux-arts; 5 Robes; 6 Horus; 7 Anthesis; 8 Stabs; 9 Amerced; 15 Unopposed; 16 Oak leaves; 17 Dancing; 18 Admits to; 20 Divine; 21 Agnes; 23 Salve; 24 Hinge.

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